

FBIS**DAILY REPORT
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KARPOV CITES GORVACHEV ROLE IN SOVIET STANCE

LD122204 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Text] A new round of the series of Soviet-American arms limitation talks started this morning in Geneva. Here is a report from Geneva by (Mihaly Hardi), Hungarian television correspondent:

The first round of the Soviet-American disarmament talks was held today in Geneva. The American delegation arrived at the Soviet Mission 15 minutes late. In the meantime, Viktor Karpov, head of the Soviet delegation, spoke with some 20 journalists who had been allowed into the mission.

He said, among other things, that the Soviet Union considers it important that at the talks, both sides should endeavor to search for the possibilities for agreement. As regards the oftmentioned issue of verification, or more exactly, verifiability, Karpov emphasized that the Soviet side is at least as interested in this as the United States. He again pointed out that the issues of strategic, medium-range, and space weapons must not be artificially separated. However, pooling the results of the three work groups is the task of the delegation leaders.

The question was posed to Karpov of whether Mikhail Gorbachev took part in formulating the Soviet negotiating position. To this, the Soviet diplomat answered: Naturally. Mikhail Gorbachev chaired the session last Thursday of the Soviet Politburo, at which the final stance of the Soviet Union for the Geneva discussions was approved.

Today's first, coordinating meeting was nearly 3 hours long. Then, Max Kampelman, head of the American delegation, made a brief statement. According to his statement the two sides agreed: In the future they will not brief journalists, in the interest of the success of the Soviet-American talks. The next meeting will be held in 2 days' time at the American Mission in Geneva.

PRAGUE RADIO DETAILS OPENING OF GENEVA TALKS

LD122123 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Text] The Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons started at the Soviet Mission in Geneva at 11 o'clock today. Here with the details is our special correspondent Antonin Kostka:

At today's joint meeting of the two delegations, detailed procedural rules were agreed upon. Also discussed were the necessary technical and organizational questions, such as, for example, the fact that the meetings will be held twice every week on Tuesday and Thursday, alternately at the embassies of the two countries. The talks will be held in three groups simultaneously and devoted to the agreed topics: space military means, strategic weapons, and medium-range nuclear missiles; naturally, their logical connections and contexts will be observed. The head of the Soviet delegation Viktor Karpov stressed that the Soviet delegation is prepared to do everything possible for the success of the talks and to achieve an agreement on concrete measures for reducing nuclear arms levels and for averting a space arms race. Viktor Karpov said, however, that any agreement presupposed that goodwill be shown by the other side as well.

'STABILITY,' 'VITALITY' OF ECONOMY REVIEWED

AUI21240 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Text] Tirana, March 12 (ATA) -- The socialist economy in Albania, which relies on the social ownership of the means of production and which is run in a centralized way, develops according to a scientific plan, at fast rates and in a proportional manner. It does not suffer from the negative consequences of the anarchy, competition, spontaneity, the economic crisis and from the other ills that corrode the economy of the capitalist bourgeois and revisionist world. In all the stage of the socialist construction, the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, making the best use of the superiority of our socialist order, having successfully solved the problems posed by the fast rate economic development and have made possible the full mobilisation of the material, financial and human resources of the country, meeting self-reliantly the growing needs of the people, economy and defence.

Thanks to the correct Marxist-Leninist policy pursued by the party, the fundamental features of the socialist economy such as its stability, vitality and dynamism have been consolidated from one five year plan to another. At the same time these are among the main features of the ever greater efficiency of our socialist economy. The fast rate of growth of the social product and of the national incomes, the fulfillment of the needs of the socialist extended reproduction by means of the human, material and financial resources of the country, the increase of the accumulation fund, the allocation of the greatest part of the accumulation for the increase of the productive funds, the guaranty and the gradual elevation of the wellbeing of the people etc., are the most significant indices of the efficiency of the economy.

Constant efforts have been made for the establishment of such proportions in the development of the branches of economy which, at the stage of planning, have made possible the continuous strengthening of the economy, the increase of the level of its self-operation, the application at a larger scale of the principle of self-reliance, the ever greater activation and growth of the national incomes. The growing dynamism of the economy takes a concrete form in the tasks set by the 1985 plan, which is the last year of the 7th Five Year Plan. In 1985, as against 1984, the social product will increase 7.9 per cent, the overall industrial production 6.2 per cent, the total agricultural production 17.7 per cent etc.

The development of the branches of the material production at increasingly more intensive rates is bring about the consolidation of the complex nature of the economy, the introduction of new kinds of natural resources in the process of the economic turnover. On their part the emergence of these phenomena will lead to the direct increase of the material expenditure. Thus, in 1985 as compared with 1980, the proportion of the material expenditures in the total social production will increase 22 per cent. In the future, too, the deepening of the intensive development, the improvement of the structure of the industrial and agricultural production, as well as the growth of the social product in general will be accompanied in a natural way by the increase of the material expenditures of production, which will always serve the strengthening of the socialist economy and the increase of its efficiency.

FURTHER REACTION TO CHERNENKO DEATH REPORTED

Slovak Leader Condolences

LD121127 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Text] Profound condolences on the death of Konstantin Chernenko were expressed today at the USSR consulate general in Bratislava by CPCZ Central Committee Presidium members Jozef Lenart, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; and Peter Colotka, Slovak prime minister.

The book of condolences was also signed by Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; Viliam Salgovic, member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Slovak National Council; and other officials. Condolences were also expressed by a delegation of the Slovak National Council and a delegation of the Slovak Government.

Chernenko's Work Praised

LD121238 Prague CTK in English 1036 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Text] Prague March 12 (CTK) -- Konstantin Chernenko's work is a contribution to the experience of the international communist movement and to the struggle of all progressive mankind for peace and social progress, RUDE PRAVO said today.

"Comrade Konstantin Chernenko played a significant role in the deepening of the scientific basis of the strategy and tactics of the Soviet Communist Party activity, the Leninist norms of internal party life, and the Leninist content and style of the party leadership of society," the paper said and added that Konstantin Chernenko enriched and specified the conception of advanced socialism which, as he used to emphasize, must be reflected in the party's program.

Konstantin Chernenko's name will remain connected with the struggle for peace, and with proposals aimed at a halt to the arms race, averting of a nuclear catastrophe, at relations of mutual confidence and peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems.

RUDE PRAVO recalled Konstantin Chernenko's speech of February 22, which contained an appeal to the USA to approach the Geneva talks seriously and honourably, and said that this appeal, just as his recent proposals, have drawn interest of the world public and support from all anti-war forces. These proposals will remain an unforgettable and urgent bequest.

PURPOSE, PROPER FORMAT OF GENEVA TALKS EMPHASIZED

LD120020 Prague CTK in English 1658 GMT 11 Mar 85

[Text] Geneva March 11 (CTK correspondent) -- The new talks between the Soviet Union and the United States on nuclear and space weapons which are due to open here tomorrow will be extremely important for mankind.

The principles agreed upon in January by the foreign ministers of the two countries, Andrey Gromyko and George Shultz, provide for an entirely new form and dimensions of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue. The talks will centre not only on existing strategic nuclear weapons and intermediate-range missiles but also on anti-satellite and anti-missile systems.

The purpose of the talks is to reach effective agreements aimed at averting an arms race in space and at halting it on earth, at limiting and reducing the number of nuclear weapons, and at strengthening strategic equilibrium.

It was agreed that progress in one sphere must be accompanied also by progress in the other two fields of negotiations but the statements emanating from the United States show its peculiar interpretation of the principle of mutual interdependence of the three "baskets", and its evident reluctance to abandon its so-called strategic defence initiative.

The U.S. Administration is using doubtful arguments to justify its stance, trying to convince its NATO allies that it has a [words indistinct] space weapons of which full use should be made, and at the same time to make congress and the U.S. public believe that star wars preparations have already been started by the USSR and that the United States must catch up with it.

The star wars concept, outlined by Ronald Reagan in March 1983, is being presented to the public as a defensive and peace-loving initiative but is in fact a plan to transform the United States into an impregnable fortress as part of the attempt to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union.

The Soviet stand is entirely clear: The USSR is opposed to the deployment of any weapons in space, and seeks a complete ban of the use of force in space and from space towards the earth, just as from the earth towards objects in space.

BILAK ENDS VISIT TO FRG, TALKS WITH SPD LEADERS

LD121058 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0900 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Text] Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, ended his visit to the FRG this morning, which he made at the invitation of the leadership of the SPD, and left for Prague. Vasil Bilak met Wolfgang Schaeuble, head of the Federal Chancellor's Office and minister in the Federal Government, yesterday evening in Bonn. In their talk, Bilak informed Schaeuble of the success in building socialism in Czechoslovakia and the main direction of Czechoslovak foreign policy. Vasil Bilak emphasized Czechoslovakia's interest in further developing mutual contacts with the FRG. This view was also shared by Minister Wolfgang Schaeuble, who also praised Czechoslovakia's willingness to cooperate and jointly tackle ecological problems. He further stressed that the FRG attaches great importance to economic links with the CSSR, which it considers a significant trade partner.

At the end of his visit, Vasil Bilak met in Bonn Egon Bahr, Horst Ehmke, and Karsten Voigt, also leading representatives of the SPD. He exchanged views with them on the most pressing problems of the present day, particularly those of guaranteeing peace and security in Europe. They also paid considerable attention to links between the SPD and the CPCZ.

DPA Reportage

For DPA reportage on the visit to the Federal Republic of Germany by CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak, including his talks with SPD officials Willy Brandt, Hans-Jochen Vogel, Johannes Rau, and Egon Bahr, see the Federal Republic of Germany section of the 12 March Western Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

HONECKER MEETS WITH KOHL, JARUZELSKI IN MOSCOW

Honecker-Kohl Talks 'Frank'

LD122153 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2058 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Text] Moscow, 12 Mar (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Helmut Kohl, federal chancellor of the FRG, met in Moscow today for an exchange of views. During the talk the present state and possibilities for development of relations between the FRG and the GDR as well as current international questions were discussed. The talk took place in a businesslike and frank atmosphere.

Erich Honecker and Helmut Kohl agreed that with the start of the arms control dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States a new phase in East-West relations could be introduced. They assessed as positive the possibility that the Geneva arms control talks could lend overall impetus to an improvement in East-West relations. It was stated that, especially now, great importance is attached to political dialogue and cooperation between East and West. It was stressed that progress in mutual relations to the benefit of the people is highly suited to contributing to an improvement in the political climate and confidence-building in East-West relations.

The inviolability of borders and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all European states within their present borders are a fundamental condition for peace, it was stated. Never again must war emanate from German soil, only peace.

Both sides favor the undertaking of all efforts to develop and expand, on the basis of the Basic Treaty, normal and good-neighborly relations between the GDR and the FRG in the interests of peace and stability in Europe.

The talk was attended by Secretary of State Frank-Joachim Herrmann, head of the chancellery of the GDR State Council chairman; Egon Winkelmann, GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR; Federal Minister Dr Wolfgang Schaueble, chief of the Federal Chancellor's Office; and Horst Teltschik, foreign policy advisor to the federal chancellor.

'Friendly' Talk With Jaruzelski

LD121838 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1642 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Text] Moscow, 12 Mar (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Poland, had a friendly meeting in Moscow on Tuesday evening. Both politicians estimated that the agreements made jointly during their meeting in November 1984 are being successfully carried out. The GDR and the Peoples Republic of Poland, it was stated with agreement, will advance further along the tried and tested path of expanding and deepening cooperation. This serves the good of both peoples and consolidates the unity of the socialist community. At the same time, the active contribution of both states, to the Soviet Union's fight to protect peace and for disarmament, in light of the dangerous situation in Europe and the world is gaining further significance.

The following took part in the talk, which was conducted in the traditional spirit of friendly alliance. For the GDR, members of the SED Central Committee Politburo Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; and Joachim Herrmann and Egon Krenz, secretaries of the Central Committee; and for the PPR, Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Polish Council of State; and members of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo Jozef Czyrek, secretary of the Central Committee; and Zbigniew Mesner, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. The ambassadors of both countries in Moscow, Egon Winkelmann, and Stanislaw Kociol, were also present.

BANGEMANN: 'GOOD POSSIBILITIES' FOR IMPROVED TIES

LD121603 Hamburg DPA in German 1513 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Excerpts] Leipzig, 12 Mar (DPA) -- In the view of Federal Minister of Economic Affairs Martin Bangemann, good possibilities for an improvement in the relations between the two German states are discernable. In his talks with GDR head of state and party Erich Honecker and other GDR politicians, the willingness for this has been clearly evident, said Bangemann on Tuesday afternoon to journalists in Leipzig.

In his words, great interest exists on both sides to further develop political relations. Economic relations can be regarded as the basis for an improvement of political relations as a whole. A great role could be played by the contribution the Federal Republic and the GDR make to the general discussion on detente and security.

Bangemann expressed the expectation that the current talks can attain progress in several spheres. Thus, in his opinion, it has been possible to remove most of the misunderstanding with respect to youth exchanges. The GDR had curtailed the agreed group trips to the Federal Republic because of the reference to the youth exchange in the constitutional protection court in Bonn a year ago. Bangemann imagines that this exchange will in future again be possible in both directions.

He also touched on the flow of people seeking asylum via East Berlin's Schoenefeld Airport to West Berlin. What can be done to separate the people genuinely seeking asylum from those who are not really seeking political asylum will be jointly examined. He saw possibilities for better cooperation in environmental protection also and in the sphere of energy.

HAEBER RECEIVES WEST BERLIN MAYOR DIEPGEN

LD121629 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1537 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Text] Leipzig, 12 Mar (ADN) -- On Tuesday, Eberhard Diepgen, the governing mayor of Berlin (West), who is staying in the GDR to visit the Leipzig spring fair, was received for a talk by Herbert Haerber, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee. An exchange of views on topics of mutual interest took place.

Herbert Haerber stressed the viewpoint of the GDR, that the preservation of peace, and especially the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe, has become a decisive question of life for all humanity. This demands the efforts of all who feel themselves bound to the good of the peoples, especially those who carry political responsibility. Therefore, the GDR welcomes the new negotiations beginning in Geneva between the USSR and the United States on the whole range of nuclear and space weapons.

There is nothing more urgent than stopping the arms race on earth, preventing the militarization of space, achieving arms limitation and disarmament, and changing the world situation again for the better.

The GDR, Herbert Haebler declared, is ready, in accordance with her principled attitude, to continue her relations with Berlin (West) in the spirit of peaceful coexistence in the future. As in the past, strict adherence to the concluded treaties, such as the four-power agreement of September 1971, will contribute to this, relying on the professed realism and goodwill of the responsible officials in Berlin (West).

The parties to the talks noted that trade and economic relations between the GDR and Berlin (West) have developed to mutual advantage and profit and are capable of being further expanded.

Present at the talk were Horst Soelle, GDR minister for foreign trade, and Bernd Raether, deputy head of the Trust Agency for Industry and Trade (TSI).

CITIZENRY OBJECTS TO EMIGRANTS' PLEAS TO RETURN

AU121415 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 8 March on page 2 carries a 2,500-word report on the reactions of named GDR citizens to a recent news item according to which more than 20,000 former GDR citizens who emigrated to the FRG have applied for permission to return to the GDR. The vast majority of the named individuals and collectives object to the applicants returning, making statements such as: "When they left they known how to read and write. They knew what was in store for them there"; "The GDR is not a waiting room that people can enter and leave as they please"; or "These people have betrayed our fatherland and have spoken ill of it to the FRG press and television. What then do they want to do in our country which 'is not free'"; "There should be no room in our country for wanderers between two worlds"; and "These people fought for permission to leave, they want the so-called freedom. Now let them stay there."

One letter writer points out that "it would perhaps be useful for our enterprise if somebody here would explain from his own experience that a person can feel so terrible in the FRG, but this is the only advantage that I can see in this." A few letter writers, however, point out that "certain compromises" should be made in cases in which "minors became the victims of their parents and are now deciding differently," or that "our Foreign Ministry should only examine applications where children were compelled to accompany their parents into misery."

PARTY DAILY PREVIEWS PROSPECTS FOR GENEVA TALKS

LD121644 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0445 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Text] Berlin, 12 Mar (ADN) -- "In Geneva the Future of Mankind Is at Stake" is the headline in today's NEUES DEUTSCHLAND commentary on the new negotiations between the USSR and the United States on nuclear and space weapons which begin today.

The commentary states: "Since they are concerned with the most important issue affecting all peoples of earth, namely, averting the danger of a nuclear inferno and the lasting protection of peace, great expectations are attached to these negotiations all over the world. There is no reasonable alternative to a positive result to these negotiations."

"The development of mass destruction weapons has long since passed the point beyond which any new war could any longer be evaluated in terms of winners and losers. Anyone who does not understand this would scarcely be in a position to recognize his error in a crisis. Humanity today faces the danger of self-destruction if it does not manage to end the arms race and turn to disarmament. Therefore, the peoples expect, they demand, that in Geneva the door be pushed open which leads in this direction, the secure way to a peaceful future for mankind."

It continues: "Both the complicated nature of the material on the negotiating table and the differing stances of the Soviet Union and the United States on it, prevent one from expecting miracles overnight. However, if both sides approach that which their foreign ministers agreed to concerning the negotiations, in their own interest, correctly understood, and conscious of their responsibility to all mankind, then a positive result in Geneva is indeed possible."

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND writes that the goal of the negotiations, the working out of effective agreements which are directed toward preventing the arms race in space and ending it on earth, toward the limitation and reduction of nuclear arms and the consolidation of strategic stability, agrees "fully and completely with the vital interests and the will of the peoples of our planet." The newspaper notes: "The peace forces on all continents who, like the citizens of the GDR, see themselves confirmed in the correctness of their striving, regard the negotiations as an impulse to now stand up even more decisively, with even greater coordination and effectiveness for common goals."

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND draws attention to the fact that in the international public there are many worried voices, "which, in particular, draw attention to Washington's insistence on the space weapons project, although the prevention of the arms race in space is uppermost among the objectives agreed upon for Geneva."

The newspaper continues: "Precisely in light of the forthcoming 40th anniversary of victory and the liberation of the peoples from Hitlerite fascism, it must be stressed: The Geneva negotiations offer a great chance to use the lessons of World War II for the prevention of a third world war. Among these lessons is also the fact that speculations with regard to attaining military superiority over the Soviet Union are built on sand. The principle of equality and equal security alone can be the basis for any agreements reached in Geneva. As far as the militarization of space striven for by certain forces is concerned, our position is clear and logical: The point at which weapons systems are installed in places where they do not yet exist must be avoided. There must be no arms race in space, and it must be ended on earth. The existing approximate military balance must be maintained in the realization of disarmament measures at an ever lower level and with ever fewer weapons."

SOVIET POSITIONS ALLOW FAR-REACHING AGREEMENTS

LD120613 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 2140 GMT 11 Mar 85

[Commentary by Guenter Leuschner]

[Text] On the eve of the start of the Geneva negotiations it is hardly necessary to waste many words on the importance of this event.

When in January the foreign ministers of the two states found a new starting point, a way out of the deadlock, which arose as a result of the deployment of the American first-strike weapons in Western Europe, the general sigh of relief in the world was so palpable that this alone said enough about the hopes, desires, and expectations linked with Geneva.

What begins tomorrow are not just any negotiations; more depends on their outcome than on previous talks, and this was repeatedly expressed in almost all commentaries in the prelude to Geneva. The responsibility begins with the strict observance of what was agreed to in regard to the goals and subject of the Geneva negotiations. These are the prevention of a militarization of space and the reduction of strategic and so-called medium-range weapons; this means discussion of these three subjects in their reciprocal effects. This is exactly what is contained in the Geneva agreement. This is why both participants have sent a delegation with three subgroups to Geneva and not, for example, three independent delegations.

The Soviet Union has left no doubt that it will adhere to this agreement, in both form and content. Its basic stance for Geneva is clear. It will work to achieve a treaty that prohibits any deployment of weapons in space. This is its first objective and it is also the key question of the whole negotiations. No one can see an arms race in space in isolation from the military situation on earth. This, moreover, was recently conceded by American Defense Secretary Weinberger himself when he spoke of the danger for the United States that would arise if the Soviet Union had the space plans whose realization the United States is working on. To remove space from the whole complex of the three subjects of the negotiations would not only contradict the agreements between the two states, but would also contradict all logic and all sense of reality. It is this very topic that could be the easiest to solve in Geneva. There are no weapons in space yet, and as we know, it is always easier to prohibit that which does not exist.

The space treaty agreed on years ago, which at least bans deployment of mass destruction weapons in space, would, moreover, be a basis to easily elaborate a comprehensive ban on militarization, including verification, without any great difficulty. If, in addition, both sides adhered to the 1972 treaty on the limitation of antiballistic missile systems the subject of space could be settled in Geneva without any particular difficulty. As far as strategic arms are concerned, the so-called intercontinental weapons, the Soviet Union's basic stance has also been clear for a long time. It was not the Soviet Union's fault that SALT II, which froze these strategic arms and which led to the initial scrapping of 250 missiles, did not come into force. In addition, the Soviet Union is prepared to reduce the existing strategic arms literally by any amount to which the other side is also prepared. This could be 10, 20, or 30 percent -- indeed, even complete abolition. It is thus entirely up to the United States to decide on the figure, but of course the principle of equal security must be observed. Because the United States has 80 percent of its strategic weapons deployed on ships and aircraft and the Soviet Union, on the other hand, about 80 percent of equivalent weapons deployed on land, one side cannot demand the reduction of just one kind of weapon, as the United States did at the earlier Geneva negotiations when it wanted to almost completely exclude its sea- and air-based strategic weapons from possible reduction.

A just solution naturally requires equally balanced reduction of all systems, which, given goodwill, would also be possible because the two states possess parity in these weapons.

The Soviet Union is also prepared to eliminate all medium-range weapons if the other side wants this. Neither side should have one missile or one warhead more than the other -- this fully justified basic negotiating principle of the Soviet Union at the previous negotiations will retain its validity now in Geneva, as well.

It must be taken into account that the Pershings already deployed are strategic weapons for the Soviet Union and, in contrast to the Soviet medium-range weapons, which cannot reach the territory of the United States, they threaten the military and political centers of the USSR. Here, too, there is a direct interaction that makes integrated negotiation necessary.

The enumeration of the Soviet Union's basic views shows that far-reaching agreements in all three subjects of negotiation are possible and that the Soviet side is trying to achieve them with all its strength.

HONECKER RECEIVES INDIAN AMBASSADOR FOR TALK

LD121147 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1735 GMT 11 Mar 85

[Text] Berlin, 11 Mar (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, has affirmed the GDR's resolve to contribute to a change for the better in the world situation. In a talk with Prabhakar Menon, Indian ambassador to the GDR, he expressed the expectation that the forthcoming Soviet-American negotiations on disarmament may lead to constructive results. What is necessary is the cessation of the arms race on earth and the prevention of its extension into space.

Erich Honecker praised India's active commitment to peace, nuclear disarmament, and international security. The GDR supports the concerns of the "Declaration of Delhi," aimed at the averting of a nuclear catastrophe and a return to detente.

Erich Honecker accepted a message in which Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi expresses gratitude for the support of the "Declaration of Delhi" by the government and people of the GDR.

BRIEFS

FRG CITIZENS SEEK GDR STATUS -- Bonn, 5 Mar (ADN) -- According to the FRG Statistical Report, more than 13,000 FRG citizens have moved to the GDR since 1975 in order to gain GDR citizenship. In 1984 alone, there were 1,100. This was made known in the FRG in connection with the discussion on giving so-called expatriate Germans [Auslandsdeutsche] the right to vote in Bundestag elections by manipulating the change in the electoral law. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1544 GMT 5 Mar 85 LD]

SPRING CULTIVATION PREPARATIONS -- At present the final preparations are being made in all LPG's, state farms, and their cooperative institutions to implement the cultivation work. In the coming weeks in the Republic summer grain will be sown on 560,000 hectares. About 231,000 hectares are allotted to sugar beets, 140,000 hectares to seed growing and 452,300 hectares to potatoes. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Feb 85 p 1 AU]

ECONOMIC TALKS WITH SFRY -- On 27 February Wolfgang Rauchfuss, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR section of the joint GDR-SFRY Economic Committee, received for a friendly talk Fragutin Grupkovic, deputy federal secretary for finances of the SFRY. They discussed the further development of financial and banking relations and the expansion of economic and scientific-technological cooperation. Grupkovic reported on the level and progress in the economic stabilization of his country, and both partners in the talk stressed that due to the constructive work of the Joint Commission for Finances and Banks, which is at present meeting in the GDR and for which Grupkovic is staying in the GDR, good prerequisites will be created for fulfilling the 1985 annual protocol. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Feb 85 p 2 AU]

PARTY DAILY PRAISES CHERNENKO, SUCCESSOR

Gorbachev Experience, Priorities

LD121201 Budapest MTI in English 1047 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Text] Budapest, March 12 (MTI) -- Every Tuesday's Hungarian paper carries a picture and biography of Mikhail Gorbachev, the newly elected general secretary of the CPSU, and appreciate his political work.

NEPSZABADSAG, the central organ of the HSWP, gives a detailed biography and a report on his work at party and state posts.

"...The party entrusted Mikhail Gorbachev with more and more complicated tasks. He dealt with a wide range of economic issues with great theoretical and practical training. As he stressed in his speech, given at a conference on economic and ideological issues in Moscow last December, he holds it necessary to improve the level of both technical-scientific and economic development factors of the national economy."

NEPSZABADSAG points out that "due to his work and role in party leadership, Gorbachev has gained a great international reputation. His visit to Great Britain last December produced an international reaction of recognition.

"The new CPSU general secretary is well-known and respected in the countries of the socialist community, including Hungary. During his last visit to Hungary in September 1983, he held a cordial, friendly discussion with Janos Kadar on the opportunities for the furtherance of bilateral cooperation, international issues and timely questions of the communist and workers' movement.

In conclusion NEPSZABADSAG states: "The new leader of our Soviet sister party is known in his country and throughout the world as a communist politician who makes efforts for the progress of the people, the further improvement of living standards, the strengthening of the Soviet Union, international security and universal peace, and who makes initiatives and spares no energy for the implementation of the important targets of the party.

Chernenko Contributions

LD121154 Budapest MTI in English 1031 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Text] Budapest, March 12 (MTI) -- The communist career and political life work of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko are appreciated by black-framed obituaries in Tuesday's Hungarian papers.

NEPSZABADSAG, the central paper of the HSWP, points out we are mourning the loss of an outstanding personality, who struggled for universal progress and the preservation of world peace, and whose activity was, since the early youth, inseparable from the vast efforts of the Soviet people for the prosperity of its country, socialism, and a better future of mankind.

NEPSZABADSAG stresses that Konstantin Chernenko, a communist politician with great experience and political practice, was also highly esteemed in the international field. Although he headed the CPSU only for a little longer than a year, he achieved lasting merits in the fact that the first socialist state of the world consistently advanced on the Leninist road.

Heading the collective leadership of the CPSU for an unfortunately short period, Konstantin Chernenko, a follower of the work of Leonid Brezhnev and Yuriy Andropov, made a great contribution to the realization of the domestic and foreign political lines set at the 26th CPSU Congress and the subsequent sessions of the Central Committee -- the consistent, prospective and successful policy of the construction of advanced socialism, and the preservation of peace.

NEPSZABADSAG carries and appreciates in detail the career of Chernenko since his early youth until his election as the CPSU CC general secretary and the president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. His intensive and comprehensive activity carried out at these high posts, was marked by continuity, and the consistent continuation of the policy and practice of the party's policy. In addition to continuation, realism was the other feature of the policy of Konstantin Chernenko. His international activity, like the entire foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, was marked by the same characteristics.

NEPSZABADSAG stresses that during the months when the CPSU CC and the collective Soviet presidential body was headed by Konstantin Chernenko, peace initiatives of great importance were repeatedly made in Moscow.

The central paper of the HSWP points out that Konstantin Chernenko played an outstanding part in the elaboration of theoretical issues concerning advanced socialism, and the theoretical work related to the formulation of the new party programme to be put forward to the 27th party congress.

The activity of Konstantin Chernenko, the CPSU CC general secretary and Soviet president, was marked by continuity, realism and the setting of high standards. His internationalist approach to the problems of the socialist community, which marked the Soviet communist leaders, were also characterized by these features, points out NEPSZABADSAG.

MAGYAR HIRLAP states: We have lost a consistent representative and protector of Marxism-Leninism, and an outstanding personality of the struggle for the preservation of world peace, prominent statesman, who served not only the prosperity of his country but also the cause of the universal progress of mankind. We are mourning an eminent personality of the international communist and workers' movement, a devoted internationalist, and a sincere and true friend.

CHERNENKO, GORBACHEV BOOK ON CPSU PLANS REVIEWED

AU121052 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 8 Mar 85 pp 2-3

[Peter Barabas article: "For Advanced Socialism: Chernenko and Gorbachev About a Few Current Questions Concerning the Tactics and Strategy of the CPSU" -- uppercase passages published in italics]

[Text] I do not know whether it is just a coincidence or a result of deliberate timing, but in any case it is a very fortunate matter that a book on ADVANCED SOCIALISM has been published just when we are conducting scientific work to gain a better understanding of CAPITALISM. THE TWO SUBJECTS ARE INSEPARABLE. We cannot sufficiently understand without deeply studying capitalism, but this analytical study cannot be done without an examination of the combination of circumstances in socialism.

Kossuth Publishers has brought out a book which sums up the most important statements recently made public in the Soviet Union in relation to advanced socialism. What first grabs the reader's attention in the statements of Konstantin Chernenko and Mikhail Gorbachev is THE BOLD WORDING OF NEW THOUGHTS AND SHARP RECKONING WITH DOGMAS.

The leadership of the CPSU preparing for the 27th Congress has in recent months reviewed in detail the road covered, has analytically evaluated the current situation, and has expressed its awareness of the novelty and complexity of the tasks facing the country.

As Chernenko states, the strategy and tactics of the CPSU in today's circumstances are based on the Marxist-Leninist concept which establishes advanced socialism as the first objectively necessary phase of the communist social and economic process. The Soviet Union today has arrived at the beginning of advanced socialism. Before it can begin solving tasks directly connected with building communism, it must cover a historically long stage of advanced socialism which lies ahead.

This is not merely an abstract theoretical statement, but one with an important bearing on policy. It makes it possible to define, WITHOUT BEING UTOPIAN, the degree of maturity of Soviet society and the characteristics and duties of a given period of time, and to renew the strategy and tactics of the CPSU.

Chernenko states: "The essence and moving spirit of socialism is the materialist dialectic, the thesis of development. It is very important to not look at this concept as a collection of dogmas which one must memorize, but TO CONSIDER IT A CONSTANTLY AND CREATIVELY GROWING SYSTEM OF VIEWS, AS A TOOL IN GETTING TO KNOW AND TRANSFORMING SOCIALIST REALITY".

The general secretary of the CPSU warns against considering the beginning stage of advanced socialism as one in which all socialist principles and morals have already been enforced in all areas of life. A SOCIETY'S REALITY AT THE BEGINNING STAGE OF ADVANCED SOCIALISM IS NOTHING BUT A CONTRADICTIONARY COMBINATION, ON THE ONE HAND, OF THE HUGE, GENUINELY HISTORICAL SUCCESSFUL RESULTS ATTAINED IN THE FIELD OF SOCIALIST CREATIVITY AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, OF THE TASKS OF OUR DAY IN SOLVING THE PROBLEMS inherited from the past which should, theoretically, have been solved previously.

Konstantin Chernenko uses examples from economic life to prove that there are certain parts of the economy that have not reached the level required by advanced socialism. But there is divergence from the mature level of socialism in other areas as well. It is possible to find looseness, carelessness, and egoism.

Chernenko: "ALL THIS REQUIRES THAT WE EFFICIENTLY IMPROVE THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM, PERFECT THE TERMS OF DISTRIBUTION, STRENGTHEN ORDER AND DISCIPLINE, AND INCREASE THE EFFICIENCY OF IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION". Chernenko considers it important to eliminate the difference between the enormously rich POTENTIAL of democracy and its PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION.

We must not confine ourselves to, say, "celebrating" our entry into the first stage of advanced socialism, the book says. WE MUST FINISH AND REMODEL A FEW THINGS.... We have arrived at a point where WE CAN AND MUST ADVANCE IN THE DIRECTION OF THE MAJOR AND MOST DEMANDING THEORY OF SOCIALISM, (a theory) that was formulated in a scientific manner.

Chernenko reminds the readers: The founders of our theory did not consider communism a state of affairs or an image, but first and foremost a REAL MOVEMENT. The perfecting of advanced socialism represents also the progress of reality. The CPSU general secretary also expressed his disapproval of all hasty advancement resulting from a simplistic view of the road to socialism. Such a view as, in fact, nothing but an attempt to postpone until tomorrow something that ought to have been done today. Pretending that present shortcomings and negligence are organically part of socialism is called POLITICAL LIP SERVICE by Chernenko.

REALISTIC AIMS must be set, and in order to implement them REALISTIC MEANS must be applied.

The CPSU's efforts are now geared principally to shift the country into an INTENSIVE PHASE OF DEVELOPMENT. In this move he attributes important roles TO THE ACCELERATION OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS AND TO THE VERSATILE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT AND PERFECTION OF THE FORMS AND METHODS OF SOCIALIST ECONOMY.

The Soviet leadership is fully aware of the fact that it is possible to achieve results in economic and sociopolitical development only by relying on sound knowledge, self-awareness, and the skill of the workers. CONCERNING DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM, THE PRIMARIY TASK IS COMPLETE REALIZATION OF SOCIALIST SELF-GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE.

The CPSU Considers it a primary task TO PERFECT all links in the chain of the political system and TO CLEANSE this system of bureaucratic elements and official views that hinders the initiative of the masses.

Chernenko uses sharp word of criticism against the persistent and multifaceted formalism which has been manifested, against debates that conceal rather than show a clash of views, and against red-tape. He also criticizes various types of corruption among those in official positions, and indiscipline which camouflages itself in slogans of democracy, but which in reality hinders the development of democracy.

"WITHOUT DISCIPLINE AND FIRM SOCIAL ORDER, DEMOCRACY IS BUT A ROSY PHRASE.

Mikhail Gorbachev's speech is permeated by the same approach, which allows us to see that the CPSU leadership IS COLLECTIVELY ELABORATING ITS OPINION IN PREPARATION FOR THE CONGRESS.

In his speech Gorbachev also concentrates on the complicated and great tasks facing the country. He calls attention to the fact that the 27th CPSU Congress opens NEW AND HISTORIC PERSPECTIVES for the Soviet Union. The congress accepts the REDRAFTED PROGRAM OF THE PARTY, the program of advanced socialism, and WILL DETERMINE THE TASKS UNTIL THE TURN OF THE CENTURY. Gorbachev also cautions in his speech against moving too fast; but he also cautions against delay and against putting off resolution or urgent problems and fighting against shortcomings. HE DEFINES AS THE PRIMARY DUTY OF OUR DAY THE SUBSTANTIAL ACCELERATION OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS and stressed the growing role of HUMAN FACTORS. On the one hand, THIS REQUIRES GREATER OPPORTUNITIES FOR EXPRESSION OF THE INDIVIDUALS PERSONALITY AND ON THE OTHER HAND, INCREASED ATTENTION TO THE PEOPLE AND THE DEEPENING OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

Gorbachev also pointed out that the Soviet people, precisely because of the vast social experiences they have gained, WILL NOT ACCEPT SIMPLIFIED ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS and are sensitive to false statements.

"IT IS OUR DUTY TO SAY THE TRUTH ONLY, TO SPEAK A LANGUAGE THAT DOES NOT TOLERATE THE BLURRING OF ISSUES, KEEPING QUIET, OVERSCRUPULOUS PHRASES AND COMMONPLACE REMARKS."

Gorbachev shows determination against the conservative way of thinking and is urging a TURN on the whole front of SOCIOLOGY, and sets for ECONOMICS the task of providing a broad theory to help bring about a dynamic, more effective economy and to lay the foundations for a more perfect economic mechanism. He considers it necessary to work out a deep theoretical study of the problems related to improving the SELF-GOVERNMENT OF THE SOCIALIST NATION. HE CONSIDERS IT TIMELY TO DRAW UP A SCIENTIFIC PLAN UPDATING PLANS TO IMPLEMENT DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM.

He urges A MODERN, AND FRESH OPINION also about many aspects of SOCIALIST WORK COMPETITION.

The statements of Chernenko and Gorbachev reflect on the substantial undertaking in the Soviet Union to find theoretical and practical answers to questions posed by advanced socialism".

'TOLERANCE' NEEDED IN HUNGARY-ROMANIA RELATIONS

AU071259 Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian No 9, 3 Mar 85 p 9

[Ferenc Varnai article: "Hungarian-Romanian Relations -- On the Basis of Common Interests"]

[Text] The development of Hungarian-Romanian relations is influenced equally by the two countries' identical social orders, their common fundamental interests and goals, the possibilities deriving from their geographic proximity, and by spiritual factors connected to their common past. Therefore, there is a need for increased caution on the part of the leaders of the two countries to ensure that relations develop by taking into consideration the interests of the two nations and the common interests of the entire socialist community.

The Starting Point: 1977

This concept was evident at the key meetings between Janos Kadar and Nicolae Ceausescu on 15 and 16 June 1977 in Debrecen and Nagyvarad. The joint communique published at the time stressed the primary role played by party relations in the further development of political, economic, and cultural relations between the two countries.

The agreements at that time provided for an increase in economic cooperation, including the development of modern forms (specialization and cooperation), expanding the small border area traffic zone, the establishment of general consulates in Debrecen and Kolozsvár, making cultural and scientific relations multilateral, and the considerable development of both individual and group tourism. These are agreements whose implementation further strengthens mutual understanding and friendship between the peoples' and that can contribute to solving other problems awaiting settlement.

This mutual desire was expressed at that time by the common conclusion of the toasts given and of the joint communique that the Romanian national minority living in the Hungarian People's Republic, and the Hungarian national minority living in the Socialist Republic of Romania -- each of them as faithful citizens of their country -- should play an active role in good-neighborly relations between the two countries in building socialism.

Therefore, when we speak about our efforts and prepare at the same time a balance sheet on the state of Hungarian-Romanian relations, implementation of the agreements achieved at this meeting is the starting point. Our representatives have had this in view at all the talks held between the representatives of the two parties and governments since the summer of 1977 -- at the political meetings as well as the professional talks. (the two parties' Central Committee secretaries met six times, the heads of government twice, and the foreign ministers three times. In addition, the leading personalities of different ministries, public and mass organizations, and so on met with each other several times.)

The two countries' social goals and geographical proximity result in a mutual interest in developing economic relations; lower transport cost are also a motivating factor.

Enlarging the steady volume of bilateral trade, valued at R360-370 million annually -- including increasing the volume of higher-level cooperation above the current 10 percent specialization, the operation of joint enterprises, the coordination of our economic activity towards third country markets, and the development of efficient cooperation in water management -- is in both sides' interests. A good example of bilateral economic cooperation is the chemical industry. (We have more specialization and cooperation agreement in this area than in any other.) The synchronization in the production of pharmaceuticals, pesticides, rubber products, household chemical products, and high-purity chemical products necessary for microelectronics is developing favorably in the same way that favorable possibilities have arisen. In the production of special steel. The Hungarian side is ready to discover those areas of cooperation yielding optimum benefits with its neighbor, Romania, which has industrialized at a considerable pace in the last quarter of a century and which currently possess a considerable chemical industry. (Before the war, only 10 percent of all employees worked in general industry; today the number is 40 percent, while agriculture workers have decreased from 74 percent of the workforce to 30 percent.

Economic Relations

As far as cultural relations are concerned, there has no doubt been a certain quantitative development in book publishing. Hungarian exports of books increased from R378,000 in 1980 to R536,000 in 1984, while our imports during the same time increased from R299,000 to R487,000. We cannot speak, however, of a similar situation in the distribution of journals that depict Hungary and Romania today, nor of the dailies and weeklies, where we are marking time or even decreasing. Last year, for example, 541 issues [as published] of NEPSZABADSAG were ordered in Romania and 150 of SCINTEIA arrived in Hungary. (According to official Hungarian data, there are 10,140 persons in Hungary who claim Romanian as their mother tongue. According to official Romanian data, there are 1,705,810 people in Romania who claim to be Hungarians.) There are still many things to be done in the area of training teachers, the exchange of cultural artistic groups, and the joint establishment of cultural houses.

Nor have we exhausted tourism possibilities for the two countries' citizens. The annual number of Romanian citizens visiting Hungary was around half a million in recent years (there were 560,000 in 1984), while the number of Hungarians visiting Romania in the eighties was around 600,000 though it approached 800,000 last year. (The enterprises engaged in tourism agreed to increase the number of participants in group tourism by 10 percent). The number of Romanian travelers involved in the small border traffic has considerably increased since 1977, surpassing 400,000 by 1983. (For the benefit of people making use of the advantages of the small border traffic, the border zone has been extended from 10 km to 20 km -- with the exception of Nagyvarad, Kolozsvár, and Szatmarnemeti.)

In the course of travel of such magnitude, bureaucratic obstacles can and do occur in settling transport issues, handling the border crossings, implementing financial conditions, and supplying accommodations. The Hungarian side would be pleased if mutually greater aid were given to citizens' contacts, to further increasing and easing the passenger traffic.

Population Travel

The opening of the Csengersima-Petea border crossing point (for the time being for personal traffic and not the international traffic of goods) is helping to make passenger traffic smoother.

To facilitate the population's daily business, a Hungarian consulate opened in Kolozsvár [Cluj] in 1980, and a Romanian consulate opened in Debrecen in 1981. (The latter closed on 31 December 1984 due to financial problems.) It is a favorable development, however, that the agreement aiming at preventing and eliminating dual citizenship came into force in February 1980.

We are confident that the steady successful political and professional meetings between leading representatives of the two countries' party and government organs and implementation of the agreements of 1977 can be the basis for new high-level meetings where the tasks of further development of relations can be urged and determined.

As far as the MSZMP and the Hungarian Government are concerned, taking into consideration the national interests and the common interests of the entire socialist community, they are ready for an improvement of relations in all areas of life and for good partner cooperation in political, economic, cultural, and other relations, including in the possibilities created by the Romanian and Hungarian minorities living in the two countries.

Debate and Agreement

In the course of the development of relations, we must also consider of course, that our countries have different traditions and different strengths; therefore they have different methods, too. This is precisely why the positions of the two parties and the two governments -- although identical in many fundamental questions -- nevertheless contain divergent elements. In order to eliminate these elements, patient and constructive debates are indispensable. There is also a need for mutual tolerance, understanding, and respect to make sure that differences in views do not prevail over bilateral relations. It is possible to argue on the basis of particular concepts. Arriving at an agreement, however, is possibly only by starting from common interests, and acting is possible only on the basis of mutually accepted documents.

As the two countries, taking into consideration the general rules and national particularities, pursue socialist goals, they also have a common interest in the struggle for peace. Furthermore, they have an identical position in demanding that NATO and the Warsaw Pact mutually renounce the use of military force; they agree in principle on the extension of the Warsaw Pact due to NATO's aggressive policy, and they make common efforts against the Western policy of discrimination and obstruction of the settling of repayment problems. There is a basis, therefore, for constructive cooperation, not excluding debates.

VARKONYI DISCUSSES TIES WITH SFRY COUNTERPART

Mutual 'High Esteem' Noted

LD112245 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1523 GMT 11 Mar 85

[Text] Szeged, 11 Mar (TANJUG) -- The working meeting between Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Peter Varkonyi, the Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, ended in Szeged today. During the meeting, which lasted for several hours, they exchanged views on bilateral relations and international issues. Dizdarevic and Varkonyi are reported to have made a very positive assessment of the development of relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia in all the fields. They also noted that good-neighborly cooperation is also of much wider significance. The two ministers stressed that the differences which exist between the two countries, which hold each other in high esteem, are not and cannot be an obstacle to cooperation because their joint interest in mutual relations is the most important factor. The two ministers stressed that they are particularly interested in higher forms of economic cooperation. They also consider it necessary to continue bilateral contacts at all levels, including the highest ones.

Speaking in detail on international themes, Dizdarevic described the activities of the nonaligned countries in light of their latest tasks, such as preparation of the ministerial conference in Luanda and so forth. He laid particular stress on the importance of these activities in the context of general international relations, which are today characterized by more dynamic contacts between the great powers. Dizdarevic particularly emphasized that the activities of the Nonaligned Movement are essentially focused on the struggle for progress in the economic field since the developed and underdeveloped parts of the world are divided by a widening gap. In this light, the dialogue between the developed and developing countries, in the view of the nonaligned countries, is one of the main imperatives of our time. On his part Peter Varkonyi emphasized the importance of maintaining detente, which is enduring numerous tests, and pointed out the danger posed above all by the intensified arms race and by plans to extend the arms race to space.

MTI Reports Communique

LD112249 Budapest MTI in English 1755 GMT 11 Mar 85

[Text] Budapest, March 11 (MTI) -- Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary of foreign affairs of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, paid a friendly visit to Hungary on March 11 on the invitation of Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi. The meeting was held in Szeged.

The foreign ministers surveyed the state of Hungarian-Yugoslav relations and exchanged views on timely international affairs. The sides stated with satisfaction that the friendly relations of the two countries were developing successfully in all fields of life. The comprehensive, direct relations between the population, which has become a tradition, and the connecting role of national minorities is an important element of good-neighborly relations. The parties reconfirmed the readiness of their countries to expand the reciprocally beneficial cooperation.

The foreign ministers pointed out that under the present complex situation the unity of all states, and all peace-loving and progressive forces of the world in the protection of peace, the race, the building of confidence between states, and the reciprocally beneficial cooperative of states is of utmost importance. The talks were marked by the spirit of friendship and mutual esteem and contributed to the development of the relations.

REPORTAGE ON, REACTION TO DEATH OF CHERNENKO

Delegation Departs for Funeral

LD121236 Warsaw PAP in English 1123 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Text] Warsaw, March 12 -- A Polish delegation to attend the funeral of Konstantin Chernenko, which is headed by the Polish leader Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, flew to Moscow today.

[Warsaw PAP in English at 1415 GMT on 12 March reports: "Asked about prospects for Gen. Jaruzelski's meeting Western leaders during the funeral ceremonies in Moscow, Minister Urban" [at his regularly scheduled press conference on 12 March] "said that upon leaving this country the Polish delegation was not aware of whether it would have an opportunity to meet other leaders in the Soviet capital. Such meetings cannot be ruled though [as received], as that is what usually happens on such occasions, Urban added."]

Leaders Sign Condolences Book

LD122108 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Text] The Soviet Embassy in Warsaw: The condolence book that has been laid out was signed by representatives of the supreme party and state authorities, including Wojciech Jaruzelski; members of the State Council, including Henryk Jablonski; the ZSL Supreme Committee, including Roman Malinowski; the SD Central Committee, including Edward Kowalczyk; and the Sejm Presidium, including Sejm Marshal Stanislaw Gucwa.

Press Review

LD121255 Warsaw PAP in English 1105 GMT 12 Mar 85

["Press Review" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, March 12 -- Grief and mourning emanate from the front pages of the Polish press today after the death of the Soviet leader Konstantin Chernenko. The papers bring front-page obituaries and black-edged photographs of the deceased leader, accompanied by the proclamation to the Soviet party and nation, issued by the CPSU CC, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and USSR's Council of Ministers. Also headlines on columns are the relevant TASS communiques, the medical report on K. Chernenko's illness and causes of his death, and the texts of messages of condolence from Poland.

The front pages also bring the news of the extraordinary plenum of the CPSU CC, which elected Mikhail Gorbachev as the CPSU general secretary, the photograph of the new Soviet leader, his biography and the text of the Polish leader's congratulatory message to him.

The newspapers cover Mikhail Gorbachev's speech after his election.

The major newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY called the deceased Soviet leader "a politician open to all voices of peace". "Konstantin Chernenko regarded the striving for peace as mankind's primary task, irrespective of the differences in policy or world outlook. He made an active contribution to the continuation of the Soviet foreign policy, implemented its peace priorities and [words indistinct] arms of struggle for the world's security.

"The Soviet Union under the leadership of Konstantin Chernenko...consistently came out for reducing the threshold of military by way of [words indistinct] preserving the principle of equality and equal of the sides." In a related dispatch from [name indistinct]: "The atmosphere on the eve of the Geneva negotiations is under the impact of the news coming from Moscow. [words indistinct] delegations "to get down to dialogue...in a businesslike manner. No one here has any illusions that the talks will be easy."

"Paying last respects to the outstanding Marxist-Leninist leader, the son of the great CPSU, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, we think of him not only as an outstanding activist of the international communist movement, an indefatigable fighter for peace and security of the human race, but at the same time as a friend of our nation," wrote the PUWP press organ TRYBUNA LUDU.

"There were three basic topics that preoccupied him most: issues of protecting mankind from the catastrophe of nuclear destruction, issues of qualitatively new tasks facing the Soviet economy after reaching the stage of developed socialism, and issues of the party, its organizational and ideological tasks at this new stage of the development of the Soviet state." "It was with ironclad consistency that he was implementing the party's foreign policy -- the policy meant to defend peace and at the same time to safeguard security of the Soviet Union and its allies."

PZPR POLITBURO ASSESSES WORK OF PARTY PRESS

LD122059 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Text] During its meeting today the PZPR Central Committee Politburo paid tribute to the memory of Konstantin Chernenko. The achievements of the deceased in the strengthening of fraternal relations between the PZPR and the CPSU and between the Polish and Soviet nations, and in the development of cooperation within the community of socialist states, were emphasized.

The Politburo also assessed the work of TRYBUNA LUDU and NOWE DROGI, the press organs of the Central Committee. It was stated that both publications are fulfilling the tasks set by the ninth party congress. It was pointed out that TRYBUNA LUDU must win over adherents to the party program, determinedly pave the way to socialist renewal, and oppose all evils. The reviewing policy of the newspaper should be improved. The expediency of setting up a network of worker correspondents and of developing discussion clubs was stressed. While mapping out the tasks for the NOWE DROGI editorial board, the Politburo stressed the need to make the journal a fundamental source of Marxist-Leninist knowledge for party activists.

URBAN'S 12 MARCH PRESS CONFERENCE REPORTED

LD121949 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Passages enclosed within quotation marks are recordings of Jerzy Urban]

[Text] We now broadcast a report on today's press conference by Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban:

Opening today's conference Minister Jerzy Urban reported the date of departure and the composition of the delegation that went to Moscow to attend the funeral of Konstantin Chernenko. The first question asked for an explanation of General Wojciech Jaruzelski's remarks in Szczecin that the FRG took upon itself in talks with the Paris Club the role of a storm trooper unit against Poland.

[Urban] "An unexpected hardening of attitude has occurred, as expressed on behalf of the Paris Club by the FRG delegation. We hope this hardening concerning the interpretation of certain items under discussion in talks with the Paris Club is only incidental. We wish it to be an incidental fact. [sentence as heard] The talks with the Paris Club will be continued soon on the subject of conditions for repayment of the indebtedness for 1985. Before that, at the Paris Club, our government's stand was presented to all the governments represented at the Paris Club concerning normalization of credit relations, including the renewal of guaranteed credits. This is not new even though the Western press presents them as new demands from the Polish side. Normalization of economic relations must embrace all spheres of financial cooperation, including questions on credit. This was said by General Jaruzelski in his recent speech in Szczecin. Simply, Poland must have proper conditions to be able to keep to the pledges that it initialled and which it wishes to sign, pledges to the members of the Paris Club. What use would the Paris Club have for Polish pledges that later appear unrealistic, because the diminished import capabilities of Poland would decrease export capabilities, and we can only pay our debts by exporting Polish products. These exports are dependent on the relevant productions, including imports. [sentence as heard]

"Previously the FRG has taken a more constructive stance, hence concern, but we are not pessimistic in this respect. Soon there will be economic talks between the PPR and the FRG in Warsaw, and we hope to reach an agreement. The visit by Minister Genscher, and the exchange of views during the visit will create certain foundations for our expectations.

"Economic matters are also important among the other issues that exist between the PPR and the FRG. We would like to strengthen this historical process of normalization of mutual relations. This is very important for us, and we approach it as a very serious task of our foreign policy, with good will and considerable expectations."

Here is the reply to a question about whether the arrest of former Solidarity and Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] activists proves that the underground has become more active. Is the government afraid of the threat from those forces?

[Urban] "We do not assess the situation so that the underground constitutes any real threat directly to the interests of our state. On the other hand, we are fully determined to prevent a potential threat that can be created by the possible development of activity contrary to the law. Besides, we stand firmly on legal grounds, and we would like to apply the law when it is being broken. Thus, the arrest of KPN members -- a very small group, very specific, and deprived of wider influence -- is absolutely not saving the state from some essential threat from this little organization. It is a demonstration of our determination not to allow any form of political activity contrary to the law.

"As for KPN, this is a nationalistic group, really a chauvinistic one, that acts against the Polish *raison d'etat*, and at present is attacking the Yalta Agreements, that is, the postwar order in Europe. Its organizational patterns are copies, I would say, from the prewar profascist organizations. There is a clear danger for society from such an organization, even if it has no chance of achieving its political goals or any possibility of wider influence."

Next there was a question about the Polish Government's reaction to the election of Mikhail Gorbachev as secretary general of the CPSU.

[Urban] "The Polish authorities know Mikhail Gorbachev as an outstanding leader of the Soviet party, as one of the leaders who treat Polish affairs with great expertise and warmth. I think our attitude will be expressed officially."

Jerzy Urban also expressed his view on some reports from Poland that have appeared in the Western press. Here is an example:

[Urban] "Much information has been published in the Western press about the alleged attack on Father (Jancarz) and a window was broken. This was reported as a sensational item; reports of Western journalists from Warsaw were quoted. The importance of this alleged event was that it was allegedly a repeat of the failed attempt in October against Father Popieluszko, when Grzegorz Piotrowski with his two companions waited, stone in hand, for Father Popieluszko's car. It is suggested that a similar group is continuing to act using the same methods as Grzegorz Piotrowski. I wish to say that Father (Jancarz) did not report this fact to the prosecution organs, and he is unlikely not to report such an attempt to the relevant authorities. Because of this we doubt the truthfulness of this report, or that the car window was broken because of the action of some other person."

The spokesman also reported on how the U.S. Government is withdrawing restrictions against Poland. It appears that with regard to air transportation, cooperation in fishing, or agreements on scientific and technical cooperation, despite declarations supporting normalization the United States postpones the signing of agreements under various pretexts.

More extensive reports on the conference will be published in tomorrow's press.

PAP VIEWS NEED FOR COMPROMISE AT GENEVA TALKS

LD121257 Warsaw PAP in English 1110 GMT 12 Mar 85

["Wishes for Partners in Geneva Talks" -- PAP headline; by PAP journalist Andrezej Rayzacher]

[Text] Warsaw, March 11 -- Soviet-American negotiations on nuclear and outer space armaments, awaited long and with hope by the entire world, are to start. On the eve of their inauguration the two sides stressed that the negotiations would be complex and difficult. Thus [word indistinct] are no grounds for excessive optimism.

At this moment, no one is able to foresee what shape a compromise may take, since given the well-known differences in the attitude of the Soviet Union and the U.S. it is only a compromise which may ensure an effect of the negotiations. And the two sides declare their good will.

The Soviet Union declared that it was ready to "go its part of the road" leading to agreement and expects the U.S. would do the same thing, being aware of the weight of responsibility for peace which lies on the great powers.

Poland is fully aware of the significance of the moment when the negotiators of the two great powers face one another in Geneva. The interest displayed by the Polish people in a successful outcome of their work is obvious. If there is no such outcome, the world will become an even more dangerous place and our situation in this world will become even more difficult.

REPORTAGE, COMMENTARY ON GENSCHER'S VISIT

Activities Described

AU111430 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Mar 85 pp 1-2

[Text] PAP -- On 6 March Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG vice chancellor and federal minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Poland on a 1-day working visit.

In the afternoon, the head of West German diplomacy was met at Okęcie Airport in Warsaw, decorated with the flags of both nations, Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski and by all the officials in this ministry. Ambassadors Tadeusz Olechowski and Horst Roeding were also present.

Directly after the welcoming, talks between the two foreign ministers started in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Later they were continued among a wider group of people.

Minister H.-D. Genscher was received by General Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers. Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski took part in the talks. Tadeusz Olechowski, PPR ambassador to the FRG, and Horst Roeding, FRG ambassador to Poland, also attended. The following also took part further on in the talks: on the Polish side -- Deputy Premiers Edward Kowalczyk and Mieczysław F. Rakowski; on the FRG side -- Torsten Wolfgramm, secretary of the FDP parliamentary group in the Bundestag.

During the talks views were exchanged on the complex topics involved in the process of normalizing mutual relations and on the most important problems in the current international situation.

The Polish side accepted with satisfaction a statement by Minister H.-D. Genscher about the importance the FRG Government attaches to the successful development of relations with the PPR and to the terms of the 7 December 1970 treaty. It also expressed recognition for Minister Genscher's earlier constructive statements, as well as for the stance expressed by Chancellor H. Kohl in the Bundestag, whereby the inviolability of borders and respect for the territorial integrity of all European states within their present borders is the basic condition for peace.

It was indicated at the same time that these statements clash with some FRG politicians' references to "German legal positions," based on unilateral acts and tendentious exposes that cannot give birth to the kind of legal-international results that would form a basis for the shaping of relations with Poland and other socialist countries.

Expressing its unchanging interest in the normalization and development of relations with the FRG, the Polish side proposed the solving of open and thorny matters in mutual relations, especially in consular-legal relations. It was proposed, among other things, that talks be held on a consular convention between the two countries, on agreements on legal relations and onomastics, and on the problem of citizenship.

The development of further government contacts was agreed on. It was decided to convene a meeting this March of a mixed economic commission and to renew the longstanding agreement on economic cooperation. This creates an opportunity to increase trade and cooperation between the industries of the two countries.

The Polish side stressed the need to restore a suitable climate and mechanisms, including financial ones, to encourage economic and industrial cooperation.

The Polish side stressed once again its fundamental readiness to continue the normalization process on the basis of the 7 December 1970 PPR-FRG treaty and to bring about progress in various spheres of relations that are important to both countries and their citizens.

The Polish side once again declared its intention of developing mutual relations with the FRG, as well as with other states with different systems on the basis of equality, mutual respect, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutually advantageous cooperation for the sake of peace and a return to detente in Europe and the world.

In the current European situation and in view of the existing tension, it was regarded as particularly important to continue the processes initiated by the CSCE in Europe. Here, the Polish side pointed out the great importance of not violating the political-territorial reality in Europe established on the basis of the Yalta-Potsdam decisions and of postwar developments. Attempts to undermine the status quo are a threat to all the states and peoples of our continent and make a return to constructive dialogue and detente between East and West difficult. Here the existence of revisionist trends in the FRG was pointed out, as well as the efforts of certain political forces to question the final shape of European borders, which are seriously burdening mutual relations and making it difficult to return to normalization on the basis of the 7 December 1970 treaty.

The Polish side expressed profound concern over the continuing arms race, including nuclear arms, and over the continuing tension in the international situation, especially in East-West relations. The Polish side regarded the American aims to militarize space and transfer the arms race to space, as a particular danger to world peace. The danger to peace stemming from the deployment of new American nuclear tactical missiles in West European NATO countries, including the FRG, was indicated. It was stressed that the main cause of the tension is the policy of the United States, which is trying to achieve military superiority over the Warsaw Pact.

The Polish side pointed out the numerous peaceful initiatives of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact countries designed to halt the arms race and return to detente. The USSR and U.S. decision to commence talks on nuclear arms, including these in space, was greeted with satisfaction, and hope was expressed that these talks lead to positive results.

Broniarek Views Visit

AU111410 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Mar 85 p 7

[Zygmunt Broniarek commentary: "The Visit to Warsaw"]

[Text] The working visit to Warsaw by FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher was an important event not only for the development of Polish-West German relations, but also for the process that is becoming increasingly known as "European dialogue."

As far as Poland is concerned, we may refer to the Warsaw visits by Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu and Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti as examples, but taking into account the broader platform of the visits and talks, one cannot omit Minister Genscher's visits to Moscow, Helsinki, and Bulgaria. These events are also assuming importance in the face of the coming Geneva talks between the USSR and the United States that are devoted to the entire complex of disarmament, including the aim to prevent the arms race from reaching space, and in the face of the U.S. visit by a Soviet parliamentary delegation headed by Vladimir Shcherbitskiy. The official visits by Andrey Gromyko to Rome and Madrid have been a serious contribution to the above "European dialogue."

The focus of the Warsaw talks between Wojciech Jaruzelski and Stefan Olszowski, on the one side, and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, on the other, was the issue of fully and consistently implementing the 7 December 1970 treaty between the PPR and the FRG. This treaty is based on the recognition of the political-territorial reality resulting from World War II. This is therefore an inviolable treaty not only in the legal sense, but also in the political sense, because it emerged under the influence of the transformations wrought by the cruelest war in the history of mankind, caused by Hitlerism.

The PAP report following Minister Genscher's talks in Warsaw notes that the Polish side "expressed recognition for Minister Genscher's earlier constructive statements and also for the stance expressed by Chancellor Helmut Kohl in the Bundestag, whereby the inviolability of borders and respect for the territorial integrity of all European states within their present borders is the basic condition for peace." These are public statements. Any attempt to undermine them, interpret them in a voluntaristic way, or refer to other arguments must be regarded by Poland as an attempt to depart from the letter and spirit of these statements. Neither can one imagine that a visit to the United States by the FRG foreign minister would be fruitful without the stance that only these statements are binding. Once again emphasis ought to be laid on what Wladyslaw Gomulka said in his time and what is often questioned by certain forces in the FRG. "There is no problem of borders in Europe; there is only the problem of peace."

Neither is there, nor can there be, an "open nature of the German problem" in Europe and the world. The "German question" in the shape of the "Drang nach Osten" and all the consequences of this slogan was opened by Hitler -- and closed by him beneath the ruins of the Reich Chancellery. The fact that this truth is pervading the FRG ruling camp despite the stubbornly repetitious protests and organized campaigns ought to be stressed as a positive phenomenon. This is a trend that is needed not only for the development of Polish-West German relations and not only by the above-mentioned "European dialogue," but also by the FRG itself.

Minister Genscher's working visit has indeed been a working one: The talks were open, without mincing words, without beating about the bush. That is why it has been valuable. It has been a step along the road to full normalization of relations between the two states that is possible only on the basis of the 7 December 1970 treaty.

TRYBUNA LUDU VIEWS FIRST STUDENTS CONGRESS

AU112124 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Mar 85 p 3

[Wieslaw S. Debski report: "Question About a Program"]

[Excerpts] A growing intellectual potential, a desire to get to know the world and break routine -- these have been the characteristics of the student brotherhood for centuries. How should they be used in order to shape the personality of young people, improve establishments of higher education, and achieve social progress in the country? Every students organization must answer this question. The concept of a Polish Students Association [ZSP], adopted at the 1982 founding congress, was meant to liberate this community's natural energy. The delegates to the First ZSP Congress [which opened in Warsaw on 7 March] will surely say if this has indeed occurred.

Looking at the results so far -- the size of the organization, and the participation of its representatives in the work of student and academic self-management bodies and in the transformations in the PPR -- the delegates will also see how the past 2 years have been used in order to consolidate the ZSP's position inside colleges.

What kind of organization is needed inside a socialist college? The kind that young people join in order to shape their own social lives together, influence the climate in colleges, and gain new experience. The kind where they may bring their dreams, ideas, and hopes to fruition.

In a situation where the community is politically divided, it is difficult to expect the ZSP to become universal. Nevertheless, it should be the activists ambition to win over as many students as possible to the performance of the common ideological program, to the goals for which they wish to struggle, and to the philosophy of an energetic citizen's life. So that this may happen, it is essential to lay down a clear program and a way of performing it, as well as ethical and citizen-like requirements that ZSP members should meet.

If today's ZSP wants to widen its sphere of supporters, it must formulate at this congress a clear programmatic offer, especially a clear sociopolitical part of the program. An unequivocal approach toward the party and to the transformations taking place in our country are the basis of this program.

There is no doubt that problems with higher education will be an important stream of student discussion. One should expect the delegates to speak out on the functioning of the law on further education. They will say to what extent the present solutions serve the implementation of students interests and strengthen the ZSP's position. Neither can they avoid referring to the negative political phenomena taking place in some colleges, abuse of power by some student self-management bodies, and attempts to exclude the ZSP from decisionmaking in colleges.

There are four socialist youth unions active inside institutions of further education. Unfortunately, there are still not strong through unity. They do not support each other enough to increase their joint ideological influence, form a common front of struggle for students' affairs, and harmoniously oppose the negative trends in the life of colleges. This is an important topic for the congress: to create ideological unity of action and at the same time preserve the identity of each of these organizations.

A lot of work awaits the congress delegates. The results there may only be assessed when the term of office of the new student authorities ends.

NICARAGUAN FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION GROUP DEPARTS

PA102235 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1830 GMT 9 Mar 85

[Text] A delegation of the Nicaraguan Association of Friendship With Socialist Countries left Warsaw today after spending 3 days in Poland. The mission headed by Socorro Galan, secretary of the organization, was in response to a special invitation extended by the Polish Council of Friendship Societies, which is comprised of 40 solidarity organizations.

During their stay in Warsaw, the Nicaraguan delegation received many demonstrations of solidarity for the struggle that Nicaragua is waging against the counterrevolutionary groups and the aggressive attitude of the United States.

KUCZA, GROUP MEET WITH ARAB LEAGUE DELEGATION

For a TAP report on the meeting in Tunis between a delegation lead by Ernst Kucza, under secretary of state for foreign affairs, and an Arab League delegation, see the Inter-Arab Affairs section of the 11 March Middle East and Africa DAILY REPORT.

CEAUSESCU, OTHERS LEAVE FOR CHERNENKO FUNERAL

AU121133 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1050 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 12/3/1985 -- A Romanian party and state delegation led by RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu left for Moscow on Tuesday at noon to attend the funeral of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko. Leaving together with the Romanian party and state leader were Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, prime minister, and Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

[Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 1600 GMT on 12 March adds: "On departure from Otopeni Airport, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was seen off by Comrade Elena Ceausescu and Comrades Emil Bobu, Lina Ciobanu, Nicolae Constantin, Ion Dinca, Miu Dobrescu, Alexandrina Gainuse, Paul Niculescu, Gheorghe Pana, Ion Patan, Dumitru Popescu, Stefan Andrei, Nicu Ceausescu, Gheorghe David, Mihael Gere, Nicolae Giosan, Tudor Postelnicu, Ion Radu, Ioan Totu, Ion Ursu, Silviu Curticeanu, Constantin Radu, Ioan Avram, first deputy prime minister of the government, and ministers. Also in attendance was USSR Embassy charge d'affaires ad interim (Boyko) and other members of the embassy."]

OFFICIALS PRESENT CONDOLENCES AT EMBASSY

AU121903 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 12/3/1985 -- Condolences were presented at the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Bucharest on March 12 on the death of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, condolences were presented by Elena Ceausescu, Emil Bobu, Miu Dobrescu, Gheorghe Oprea, Dumitru Popescu, Ion Radu, Ion Ursu, Silviu Curticeanu, Constantin Radu.

Elena Ceausescu expressed feelings of profound sympathy on behalf of the RCP and Romanian head of state, Nicolae Ceausescu, and on her own behalf, as well as on behalf of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party.

The attendance kept a minute's silence before the blackedged portrait of K.U. Chernenko, and signed the book of condolence opened by the embassy.

Condolences were also presented on behalf of the State Council by Gheorghe Radulescu and Maria Ciocan, vice-presidents of the State Council, on behalf of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania by Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister, Nicolae Constantin, Alexandrina Gainuse, Ion Totu and Ioan Avram, deputy prime ministers, as well as on behalf of the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania, the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth], the UCSAR [Union of Communist Students' Associations of Romania], and the National Council of the Young Pioneers' Organization, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of National Defense, the Bucharest city committee of the RCP and the city people's council.

The same day, condolences were presented by delegates of worker collectivities from Bucharest enterprises and institutions.

Those present kept a minute's silence and signed the book of condolence.

REPORTAGE ON CEAUSESCU'S VISIT TO LIBYA

Ceausescu Dinner Toast

AU071351 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Mar 85 pp 1, 3

[Toast proposed by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at official dinner given by Libyan leader Colonel Mu'ammr al-Qadhafi in Tripoli on 4 March]

[Text] On this occasion, too, I would like to extend friendly greetings to Colonel al-Qadhafi and Mrs Safiyah Farkash and to all Libyan friends.

I also want to express thanks for the invitation to pay this visit and for the hospitality we have enjoyed.

Relations between Romania and the Libyan Jamahiriyyah have constantly developed and every time our summit meetings and the talks between our delegations have given a new impetus to developing this cooperation. This is why I also want to stress with great satisfaction the positive relations between our countries, and to express the conviction that this visit and the talks we have begun today will contribute to the further development of multifaceted cooperation.

Today we began an exchange of views on international issues. It is true that we have discussed only a few of the serious and complex issues of the world situation. One can state that this is a time when mankind's life and existence are at stake. The arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, has aggravated the world situation as never before.

Together with my friend Al-Qadhafi, we have agreed that the basic problem of our time is halting the arms race, disarmament -- primarily nuclear disarmament -- and ensuring peace throughout the world. To make use of nuclear weapons means to destroy life on our planet itself. Therefore, a nuclear war is out of the question and should not be permitted.

We appreciate particularly the agreement between the USSR and the United States to begin negotiations in March. As is well known, they will discuss various types of nuclear weapons and halting the militarization of outer space. These are problems concerning all peoples in the world and, therefore, we believe that all countries -- large and small and irrespective of social system -- must make their contribution to solving those problems.

We advocate an immediate halt to the production and deployment of new nuclear weapons and especially to the deployment of U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe and to the Soviet nuclear countermeasures.

I believe that small- and medium-sized countries, which include Romania and the Libyan Jamahiriyyah, the nonaligned, and the developing countries can and must play an important role in ensuring peace and in generally resolving the serious world problems. The tremendous amounts that are being spent today for weapons -- which are in excess of \$800 billion -- must be cut back and the means thus made available must be used for socioeconomic development and especially for aid to developing countries.

Generally speaking, we are for strengthening solidarity among the developing countries, for real negotiations with the developed countries to eliminate underdevelopment and to achieve a new world economic order, and a global solution to the very high debts of the developing countries.

Romania has always advocated the renunciation of the use of threat of force and the solution of all conflicts and disputes between countries by negotiations alone. Life has demonstrated and continues to demonstrate that it is in the interests of peoples to seek political solutions to the problems between themselves in order to defend their independence and sovereignty. As a matter of fact, in a concrete case concerning the Libyan Jamahiriya such action was taken.

We have always supported the peoples' liberation struggle. We can actually state that the elimination of colonial domination is almost finished. Scores of newly independent states have emerged. What is at stake now is to strengthen independence and consolidate it from an economic view. We actively support Namibia in winning its independence, and we firmly oppose the policy of apartheid in South Africa.

As for the Middle East, we have always advocated Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories, the solution of the Palestinian problem on the basis of their right to self-determination, including the creation of an independent Palestinian state. We believe that at this point, too, this is the only means for a global solution in the Middle East.

We believe that last fall's UN decision on an international conference with the participation of all states concerned, including the PLO, must be implemented. In our view the United Nations can play an important role in organizing this conference and in ensuring its successful progress in order to achieve a lasting and just peace in the Middle East.

Generally speaking, we favor a political solution to the conflict between Iran and Iraq and to other conflicts. There may be different opinions or views on the causes that have led to one or another conflict -- maybe some people are more to blame and some less -- however, the essential problem now is not to continue that war which daily claims thousands upon thousands of victims and causes great damage to the economies of the given countries. It is rational to take account of the peoples' interests, to stop those conflicts, and to solve problems through negotiations. Look at what has always happened in the world -- even World War II finally ended and problems were resolved at the negotiating table. There is no other way!

We believe that we must act so that relations between states will be based on fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, respect for each country's territorial integrity, and respect for each people's right to choose the development road they desire, without any outside interference. No one has the right to say that he likes the social system in the state and dislikes that in another state. It is each people's right to freely choose their development road according to their desires. As a matter of fact, only the imperialists and the colonialists have acted like this; and this is what they want to do now. The peoples that have shaken off imperialist and colonialist domination and are fashioning a free life must strengthen their solidarity and must act to achieve a world of social equality and justice.

There are a great number of problems to be resolved. The struggle against any form of imperialist domination must be waged with great determination. The struggle for peace and disarmament must concern each people, each politician, and each statesman. We are not doing our duty toward our people and toward all peoples if we do not defend peace and the peoples' freedom and independence! Only under conditions of peace will we be able to thoroughly concern ourselves with the well-being and happiness of each nation and of our peoples, and only thus can we cooperate with the other nations for the progress of each of them.

It is in this spirit that we began our talks today and thus we will continue them tomorrow. I am convinced that, in these fields, too, we will reach the conclusion that we must strengthen our cooperation and solidarity, and the cooperation and solidarity among all peoples who want to be free and independent.

There is an old saying to the effect that people who oppress other people and who do not recognize the right to the existence and independence of another people cannot be free themselves. We must see to it that cooperation between our peoples will serve our peoples' well-being, freedom, and independence and will strengthen the policy of peace and international cooperation.

In conclusion, I would like to once again express satisfaction with the positive relations between our countries and the conviction that the talks we will conduct during these coming days will contribute to intensively developing cooperation in the interests of both countries and peoples and of the cause of peace.

I wish Romania and the Libyan Jamahiriya and our peoples the best possible cooperation! (applause)

Al-Qadhdhafi Dinner Toast

AU081035 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Mar 85 pp 1, 3

[Report on speech given by Libyan leader Colonel Mu'ammad al-Qadhdhafi at dinner given in honor of President Nicolae Ceausescu in Tripoli on 4 March]

[Text] I take particular pleasure in conveying warm greetings to our great friend, President Nicolae Ceausescu, and to the esteemed Mrs Elena Ceausescu, who are visiting our country.

We highly appreciate this visit, which we regard as a new opportunity to develop more deeply the good relations between our country and to give them a new impetus toward a new stage.

We witness with satisfaction the development of relations between our countries, which have achieved very important things in all fields of activity.

At the same time, I would like to thank President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu for accepting our invitation to visit the Libyan Jamahiriya.

The relations and friendship between our countries have continuously developed and received new impetus every time we have met or had an exchange of high-level delegations between the two countries.

Apart from the questions regarding our bilateral relations, which have developed positively -- as I have already mentioned -- this current visit will also give us the opportunity to have an exchange of views on the complex and particularly serious international situation.

Our country, which plays an important role within the Nonaligned Movement, and Romania, which has asserted itself through important international activities, can jointly contribute to reducing tension and solving the complex and serious international problems of our times.

We undoubtedly share the same concern about the tense situation in international relations caused by the imperialist policy of the capitalist system.

In addition to the general problems that worry mankind, primarily the economic problems -- as we have already discussed -- there are various other important problems, mainly connected to the escalation of the arms race, which has also expanded to outer space, and the stockpiling of weapons throughout the world.

We believe, both the Libyan Jamahiriya and Romania, that we are able to make a contribution in assisting the great powers to find ways of understanding, as well as in the successful unfolding of the upcoming Geneva talks. This is so not only because current problems depend exclusively on the great powers, but also because we, as small countries, must be able to contribute to solving these problems.

All the nations, particularly the small ones that could become victims of the destructive arms race, are interested in consolidating peace throughout the world.

The Libyan Jamahirah and Romania have the same interests and make efforts to establish peace in the world. That is why we must continue to make efforts in this direction.

Certainly the great powers have the greatest responsibility, because through the arms race they are pushing mankind toward a catastrophe. But the issue of peace is primarily the issue of all peoples in the world and it is every nation's responsibility.

At the same time, the small countries must not stand aside and allow the great powers to continue to reach agreements at their expense.

The experience of the Libyan Jamahiriya, which acted to appropriately resolve and contribute to the settlement of some regional conflicts, clearly demonstrates that a settlement of the problems in such cases is possible.

Referring to a number of international issues, to the peoples' struggle for independence, for socioeconomic consolidation, and for a free development in keeping with their aspirations, Colonel Mu'ammār al-Qadhafī said:

We support peoples in strengthening their capability to struggle against imperialism and capitalism. All our current efforts are directed toward this goal.

After expressing his views regarding the Middle East conflict and referring to the Palestinian people's situation, their struggle, and the need to establish peace in the Middle East, Colonel Mu'ammār al-Qadhafī said: We do not believe in the need to divide the world according to religion and we do not believe in countries founded on a religious basis.

In conclusion, Colonel Mu'ammār al-Qadhafī said: I want to express my thanks to you esteemed friend, and to the lady accompanying you, for this visit and I express my hope that during our talks and discussions we will have a further exchange of opinions. I am convinced that during our talks we will find new ways to further develop the relations between our countries.

Thank you. (applause)

Joint Communiqué

AU111911 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Mar 85 pp 1, 3

["Joint Communiqué"]

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu paid an official friendship visit to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya between 4-6 March 1985, at the invitation of Colonel Mu'ammār al-Qadhafī, leader of the Great 1 September Revolution.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu, together with the delegation that accompanied them during the visit to the Libyan Jamahiriyah, were welcomed cordially and warmly everywhere, as an expression of relations of friendship and cooperation between the SR of Romania and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, and Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi, leader of the Great 1 September Revolution of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, conducted official talks in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. During the talks, the two leaders examined the current stage of bilateral relations and ways and means for their development in all fields and exchanged views on topical international issues.

For Romania, the talks were attended by Comrade Elena Ceausescu, first deputy prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania, and the following comrades: Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of the government; Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs; Vasile Pungan, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation; Dimitrie Ancuta, counsellor to the president of the SR of Romania; and Florea Ristache, ambassador of the SR of Romania to Tripoli.

For Libya, the talks were attended by: Major 'Abd al-Salam Ahmad Jallud, member of the Revolution Command Council; 'Ali al-Salam al-Turayki, secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison; Ibrahim al-Faqih Hasan, secretary of the General People's Committee for social security; Musa Abu Furaywah, secretary of the General People's Committee for economy and light industries; Fawzi al-Shakshuki, secretary of the General People's Committee for planning in charge of oil; and 'abd al-Hamid Farhat, secretary of the People's Bureau of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah in Bucharest.

The two leaders examined the evolution of relations between the two countries, in accordance with decisions and agreements reached at a high level in Tripoli (1974), Benghazi (1979), and Bucharest (1981 and 1983) on all issues of mutual interest.

They expressed satisfaction with results attained and also stressed the importance of consolidating and strengthening bilateral cooperation, to the mutual benefit of the two friendly peoples and in the spirit of the provisions of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the SR of Romania and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, signed on 24 January 1983 in Bucharest.

The two sides pointed out the important progress made in developing bilateral cooperation in various economic and technical fields. They expressed the conviction that the intensive development of Romanian-Libyan relations makes an important contribution to the efforts of the two countries along the road of socioeconomic progress and constitutes an example of mutually advantageous cooperation between states, as well as cooperation in increasing their efforts aimed at building a new international economic order and at promoting understanding and peace among all peoples.

The president of the SR of Romania and the leader of the Great 1 September Revolution agreed to make all efforts to boost cooperation in constructions, agriculture, industry, geology, oil, transportation, and other fields.

In this respect, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi signed the Overall Agreement on Economic and Scientific-Technicological Cooperation Between the SR of Romania and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

During the visit, the sides also signed an agreement on social insurance and a protocol on developing economic, trade, and scientific-technological cooperation between the SR of Romania and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

The two sides valued the activity of the Joint Commission for Economic And Scientific-Technological Cooperation and agreed to strengthen the role in developing economic cooperation and trade exchanges between the two countries.

The president of the SR of Romania and the leader of the Great 1 September Revolution also emphasized the importance of expanding relations in culture, science, education, medicare, cadre training, and mass media.

The two leaders examined the complex problems of the contemporary world and expressed profound concern over the maintenance of particularly serious tension in international life, as a result of: the policy of force and domination; the unprecedented intensification of the arms race, particularly nuclear; efforts to militarize outer space; the colonialist, neocolonialist, and racist policy promoted in various parts of the globe; interference in the domestic affairs of other states; actions to consolidate and redivide spheres of influence; conflicts in certain regions of the world; aggravation of the world economic crisis; and the widening gaps between developed and developing countries.

The two sides expressed concern over the escalation of the arms race and the allocation of large human, material, and financial resources to military goals, that represent a heavy burden for all peoples and a continuous threat to international peace and security. They pointed out the particular danger of continuing the nuclear arms race, which would inevitably lead to a nuclear catastrophe and the destruction of life itself on our planet.

In this respect, the two leaders estimated that the key issue of the present-day world is to ensure the peace and security of peoples, halt the arms race, proceed to adopting concrete disarmament measures -- primarily nuclear -- stop the production and improvement of nuclear weapons and other mass destruction means, and reduce their number until their complete elimination.

The two sides pointed out that deployment of U.S. intermediate-range nuclear missiles in certain West European countries, including the Mediterranean area -- which led to the Soviet nuclear countermeasures -- has increased tension in that area and seriously jeopardized international peace and security. The sides agreed that all efforts should be made to halt the deployment of intermediate-range and other nuclear weapons, bring about the withdrawal and destruction of existing ones, and completely free Europe and the Mediterranean area from any nuclear weapons. They agreed that further steps should be taken to turn the Mediterranean into an area of peace and cooperation, without foreign military bases and free from nuclear danger.

The sides stressed the determination to contribution to the conclusion of appropriate understandings at the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. negotiations in Geneva on nuclear weapons and nonintroduction of weapons into outer space.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi presented the positions of their countries on the Middle East situation and the Palestinian problem.

The sides also spoke out against shows of force threats, and military provocations along mainland or maritime borders of other states. They condemned imperialist attempts at interference in the domestic affairs of other states and resolutely demanded that an end be put to such policies and actions such as those that took place in the Sidra Gulf, that can aggravate the international situation and pose a threat to peace in the area and throughout the world.

The two leaders reiterated the importance of the unity of the Arab countries and the need to strengthen anti-imperialist forces in order to attain the Arab peoples' goal for socioeconomic progress and development.

Examining the situation in Africa, the leaders of Romania and Libya pointed out the progress made by African peoples in their struggle for freedom, national independence, and socioeconomic development. The sides expressed concern over the various forms of interference by imperialist, colonialist, neocolonialist, and racist forces in the domestic affairs of African countries and over their increased activities, maneuvers, and other hostile actions against the African peoples. The sides stressed that this interference in affairs of African states poses a threat to the security and peace of African countries and represents an obstacle to their development and progress.

The sides reiterated their countries' solidarity with and support for the just struggle of the Namibian people led by the South-West African Peoples Organization, their sole legitimate representative, for national independence.

The two leaders condemned the apartheid and racist policy promoted by South Africa and stated their support for the struggle waged by that country's people against this policy and for freedom and democratic rights.

The two sides stressed the importance of solidarity and action unity among African states. In this respect, the sides reiterated the important role of the Organization of African Unity in supporting solidarity among African states and their efforts to completely liberate the continent, fight imperialism, colonialism, racism, apartheid, racist discrimination, and all forms of domination and diktat, strengthen economic cooperation between African countries, and politically resolve all conflicts on the continent.

The two sides expressed support for the efforts made by the OAU and the African states to bring about national reconciliation, security, and peace in Chad, on the basis of the Lagos agreement.

The sides expressed their support for and solidarity with the struggle of peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America to attain national independence and base world economic relations on principles of equality and equity.

They spoke out against all attempts to dominate other peoples and reiterated the importance of the unity of all peoples and progressive forces everywhere against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and racism and for ensuring their progress, as well as freedom, independence, and peace in the world.

The two sides pointed out the important role devolving upon the Nonaligned Movement and its struggle against all forms of imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and racism, and for consolidating independence, strengthening economic cooperation among these countries, building a new international economic order, reducing international tension, and establishing peace and security in the world.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi pointed out the serious consequences of the world economic crisis for the developing countries.

The two sides expressed the conviction that the establishment of a new international economic order is the only way to solve the current world economic problems and guarantee the comprehensive and stable development of developing countries. They advocated immediate and real negotiations between developed and developing countries on the overall problems concerning international economic relations.

The two leaders reiterated the importance of developing economic cooperation between developing countries and the need to strengthen their solidarity and action unity, so as to increase their contribution to solving international economic problems. They spoke out for convening a summit conference of the developing countries to discuss issues concerning the expansion of economic cooperation and establish a joint strategy for global negotiations with the developed countries. The sides stressed the importance of the fact that the developing countries should exercise control over their natural resources, with a view to promoting their own economic development.

Regarding the United Nations, the two sides agreed on the need to improve its structures, so as to ensure full equality among all its members.

The leaders of the two countries expressed full satisfaction with the new Romanian-Libyan summit and with the talks held and agreements reached. They emphasized the decisive importance of exchanges of summit visits for further strengthening relations of friendship and cooperation between the SR of Romania and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyyah, to the benefit and in the interest of the Romanian and Libyan peoples.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu warmly thanked Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Great 1 September Revolution of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyyah, and the Libyan people for the particular hospitality and welcome extended to them throughout the visit.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu invited Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Great 1 September Revolution of the Socialist People's Arab Libyan Jamahiriyyah, together with Mrs Safiyah Farkash, to pay an official friendship visit to the SR of Romania. The invitation was accepted with pleasure. The date of the visit will be established through diplomatic channels.

OFFICIALS SIGN CONDOLENCE BOOK AT EMBASSY

Djuranovic Signs Book

LD122203 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1013 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG) -- Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, visited the USSR Embassy Belgrade this morning and signed the book of condolences. The book of condolences has been opened on the occasion of the death of Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Sukrija, Vidic Sign Book

LD122209 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1011 GMT 12 Mar 85

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG) -- This morning Ali Sukrija, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, signed the book of condolences that has been opened at the Soviet Embassy in Belgrade on the occasion of the death of Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The book was also signed by Dobrivoje Vidic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

BELGRADE RADIO VIEWS CHERNENKO'S TERM OF OFFICE

AU121910 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Mar 85

[Text] For 5 and 1/2 decades as a professional political worker Konstantin Chernenko has been ascending gradually toward the highest party office, only to remain in it for just 1 year. Branislav Canak commentary:

Called a man of continuity at the beginning of his short term of office, Chernenko left no doubt about the kind of continuity involved. It was not only a continuation of the policy established during Leonid Brezhnev's time, whose right-hand man he had been since 1965, but one could also speak about the continuation of some moves Yuriy Andropov made. It is, of course, difficult to go into details, for while Andropov was the leader of the party and the state for too short a time to start any deep changes, Chernenko had even shorter time to elaborate them and bring them to a starting point. However, vestiges have remained, for, although as a man in power -- that is, in practice -- he did not manage to realize some concepts, as a politician and a theoretician, he did set them.

In his many articles and speeches, Chernenko made it known that he is aware of the voluminousness of the search for roads toward communism. Invoking the original Leninist principles of the Soviet revolution and the socialist revolution in general, Chernenko insists upon the dialectics of realism in assessing the level of socioeconomic maturity and the contents and continuation of the socialist stage before the communist one. He said that it is necessary to creatively renew the strategy and tactics of the party on this basis, taking into consideration both the most immediate future and the distance communist perspective.

All this has special weight when one knows that it was written, that is, publicized for the preparations for the forthcoming 27th CPSU Congress and for the announced project of adapting the party program to real social currents.

If we add here that 4 years ago, after the 26th congress, Chernenko elaborated these to the party as a conductor, but if said of the orchestra that it had to consist of musicians who had the largest possible scope for creative research, then the dimensions of Konstantin Chernenko's policy of continuation are clear. All this, along with the contribution of other creators of the total Soviet policy, will be a great topic and challenge for the next congress.

Announcing the need to solve the contradictions of production forces and production organization in Soviet economy in an article around the end of last year, Chernenko speaks about the indispensability of perfecting and improving the forms and methods of socialist economic operation. This applies to the economies of other countries of the socialist community that are members of CEMA, so there, as well, certain announced steps toward change have already been taken. On the military plane within the Warsaw Pact, as Chernenko recently stated, these countries declared themselves in favor of renewing the pact, and it is certain that this alliance will continue to strengthen cohesive elements in the future as well. Therefore, one should believe that there will be no considerable deviation in the future -- at least in the next 3-4 years -- from the so-called program of peace that was adopted at the 24th congress, supplemented at the 26th congress, and recently revived again in a somewhat refreshed form. It is a fact that in the present situation of international relations, the stands of this program that was advocated by Chernenko present a significant contribution to creating an atmosphere of greater understanding that is so indispensable for peace.

As concerns relations with Yugoslavia, for a number of years they have been developing in an upward direction on both the political and the economic planes. Yugoslavia appreciates very much the commitment of Konstantin Chernenko in developing comprehensive relations and cooperation between the LCY and the CPSU, as well as between the two socialist countries. This is emphasized in the telegrams of condolences of both the LCY Presidium and SFRY Presidency. The basis of these relations are the Belgrade declaration and the Moscow statement, as well as numerous documents that resulted from the meetings of the highest leaders of the two parties and countries. For over 3 decades, relations have been building upon known principles, and it seems to be a perfectly sufficient distance in time and history to be able to assess them as also lasting and useful for the future development of friendship and cooperation.

SOVIET POLICY LINES UNDER GORBACHEV VIEWED

LD121849 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1714 GMT 12 Mar 85

["Gorbachev -- Continuity As Well As 'New Roads'; by Slavko Stanic" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Moscow, March 12 (TANJUG) -- The election of Mikhail Gorbachev as general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party is considered to be a turning point in Soviet post-war cadre policy. New criteria for this policy were formulated by Yuriy Andropov and, with his letter to the party base prior to elections for the Supreme Soviet, Konstantin Chernenko made it an imperative.

Judging by Gorbachev's first public speech after election, the third change in the Kremlin in just under three years does not imply a change in Soviet internal and foreign policy. Policy cannot be changed by one man, even an elected leader. But he can give it his style of work, something for which neither Andropov or Chernenko had time.

The new general secretary, however, has the advantage of a clear terrain, namely a mandate in the form of the platform adopted by the June Plenum of the Central Committee as the platform for the 27th party congress.

Like his predecessors, Gorbachev as a leader of continuity also announced "new roads" towards the faster implementation of adopted policy, primarily in dynamizing the economy on the basis of science and new technologies.

It is now Gorbachev's move, since the process of rejuvenation of cadres, after many years of hesitation has actually started with his elections. Gorbachev is taking over as the director of "reformist renewal", which was announced earlier on several occasions but postponed thus far.

Andropov catalogued all the impediments in Soviet society for the "strengthening of socialist democracy and the greater participation of workers' in managing economic and social affairs." Chernenko insisted on only a fragment of this policy -- strengthening of the base through strengthening the power of the local soviets.

Gorbachev holds that more attention should be paid to the interests of the different social groups in the Soviet Union, and that the experiment initiated by Andropov should not only be strengthened but also expanded. People judge a policy by the way it solves their problems, both minor and major, he said.

PLANINC TO MEET HOST IN MALAYSIA FOR TALKS

LD112130 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0924 GMT 11 Mar 85

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, March 11 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Premier Milka Planinc who yesterday arrived on an official and friendly visit to Malaysia will meet with her host, Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamed, this morning. The talks are expected to focus on the further promotion of traditionally good bilateral relations and the expansion of economic cooperation.

They will also exchange views on the international situation. Milka Planinc will acquaint here host with Yugoslavia's view of the situation in Europe and its preparations for the forthcoming ministerial meeting of the Movement of Nonalignment. It is expected that Prime Minister Mahathir will acquaint the Yugoslav delegation with Malaysia's stands on the situation in the region, especially in Kampuchea.

DIZDAREVIC RETURNS FROM VISIT TO HUNGARY

LD112253 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1816 GMT 11 Mar 85

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG) -- Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, has returned to Belgrade after a 1-day working visit to Hungary. He had talks with Peter Varkonyi, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, in Szeged. The two ministers discussed bilateral relations and international issues.

DELEGATION TO ATTEND BRAZILIAN INAUGURATION

LD112137 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1109 GMT 11 Mar 85

[Text] Belgrade, March 11 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Presidency member Lazar Mojsov left here today for Rio de Janeiro at the head of a Yugoslav delegation which will attend the inauguration of Tancredo Neves as Brazil's new president.

The ceremony will take place on March 15 in Brasilia.

REPORTAGE ON CENTRAL COMMITTEE 5-6 MARCH SESSION

Participants' Remarks

AU081338 [Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 5 March carries a 33-minute report, at 1800 GMT a 28-minute report, and at 2100 GMT a 12-minute report on the LCY Central Committee session on that day. These radio reports add the following significant points:

After reporting on the introductory speech made by LCY Central Committee Presidium member Hamdija Pzderac, Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT carries a report on the debate that followed. The second participant in the debate, Branko Mikulic, says the announcer, pointed to the unfavorable economic trends: "For example, export results in the last few years, except for 1981 when they were most favorable, have been experiencing a constant fall compared to that year. Trade was balanced mostly by reducing imports. Therefore, one is justified in asking what influence the enormous devaluation of the dinar has had on exports, production, and interest rates as well."

Speaking about the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor as clear guiding lines in the development of socialist self-management, the next speaker, Bosko Kronic, says in a recorded passage: "Dynamic development does not imply changing the relations established by the Constitution at every turning point, but adapting our institutions, methods, even legal instruments to the needs of practice. If, for instance, decisions primarily about earmarking resources from income continue to be made in the assemblies without associated labor having any real influence, then we are naturally not going to change the associated labor, delegate assemblies, or other systemic solutions, but rather those who are responsible for that."

In a recorded passage, Radisa Gacic says: "Basic and permanent values of our socialist self-management community must also be defended and developed by changing some institutional solutions and norms and replacing them with new ones that would be more in the spirit of the exact basic values of our revolution. It is politically dangerous and socially unacceptable to close one's eyes to the problems life imposes upon us and claim that all problems appear only because working people and the subjects of the system fail to behave in conformity with existing norms and solutions."

The report carried by Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1800 GMT concentrates on the afternoon debate, which opened at 1500 GMT. One of the speakers, Miljan Radovic, the announcer says, "spoke in favor of waging an ideological struggle in the most organized way possible, on the public political scene, and with the force of arguments. Then there will be less need for repressive measures." There follows a recording of Radovic saying: "As concerns the activity of individuals or groups aiming at undermining and destroying constitutional order, there should really be no dilemmas or vacillations. Whatever condition society is in, along with ideological and political measures, one should, without hesitation, also apply the measures envisaged by law. This should always be done publicly, explaining the full argument and, as has always been the case so far, this will gain the widest support of the people."

One of the speakers, Milka Planinc, is reported to have spoken about the problem of inflation. In a recorded passage Planinc says:

"I must say at this very place that it is a great truth that the anti-inflation program was adopted before all other systemic solutions -- I mean, before all other changes in the economic system -- and when the implementation occurred, after a short period of only 1 year, the situation was dramatically different than at the time the program had been written. The insistence that something be implemented according to that document now, or the illusion that something could have been implemented, in my opinion, leads us to mistakes -- I am not saying this because of the past, I do not feel like researching the past -- mistakes that could be dangerous today.

"If only we as a society had managed to regulate our relations with foreign countries earlier -- I must tell you immediately that I do not think that only the Federal Executive Council is to blame, our entire community failed here -- when it was high time -- this was in the infamous years 1980 and 1981; if only we had not had to exhaust the economy to the very limit through the repayment of commitments abroad until the end of 1982; if we had settled consumption relations in the country to the level we achieved this year and last year -- here I have in mind social spending, both public and common -- and established an equilibrium between demand and supply, at least to some extent, and established some sort of financial consolidation of the economy in the sense that we would not exhaust it completely through investment, and particularly not exhaust its working capital, then the real rate of interest and a real exchange rate of the dinar would be undisputed.

"However, comrades, why should we talk about this now as if it was possible today? We did not do all those things. The country is now in a situation where it must enter into negotiations with foreign partners, and the country has been brought to the situation we are discussing here so that we must accept the pace at which the real rate of exchange and the real rates of interest are introduced -- which indeed are parts of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program -- not according to the logic of the economic measures contained in the anti-inflation program -- first step, followed by another and a third -- but according to real life."

The report carried by Belgrade Domestic Service at 2100 GMT covers the entire session on that day and cites, among others, Bosko Kronic as saying that "by adopting the Constitution we have not nailed down anything; we have not turned norms into dogma, but neither have we made a sort of a trial constitution, some sort of transitional solution."

More on Remarks

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 6 March carries a 31-minute report, at 1800 GMT an 11-minute report, and at 0900 GMT in its "Sunday at 10" feature program on 10 March a 9-minute report on the second day of the LCY Central Committee session, held 6 March. The radio reports add the following significant points:

Reporting in the 1400 GMT cast on the speech made by the first participant in that day's debate, Bogoljub Nedeljkovic, a reporter quotes Nedeljkovic as taking exception to the fact that "the principles of democratic centralism are being interpreted in various ways, and, therefore, the authority of the Central Committee's decisions is being destroyed," and asking "why the LC allows local interests to push back the common ones." In a recorded part that follows, Nedeljkovic says: "I think that, concerning the implementation of what we agreed upon in the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, some forces that failed to do so during the implementation of both the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor are now trying to underhandedly push some of their conceptions and to turn the wheel backwards.

"We have to break down completely the phenomena of opportunism, as well as the insufficiently resolute opposition of the LC to all these kinds of behavior that are basically attacks on self-management and the basic achievements of our revolution."

Also carried in the 1400 GMT broadcast is a report on the next speaker, Milos Minic, who is reported to have said: "The debate on the conclusions has accelerated the processes of the democratization of social relations. The work of party leaderships should be subordinated to this." He added that "the 16th session should have differed from the previous ones. The messages of the party debate should have been discussed and the most urgent tasks of the Central Committee and the LC prior to the congress established first, without blazing floodlights and without limiting speeches to 15 minutes. In this way one would have avoided gaps in the conclusions." In the recording that follows, Minic says: "In my opinion, the main shortcoming of the conclusions is that they failed to set apart and emphasize the most urgent among the most important problems, aims, and tasks that the entire LC at all levels at the present moment and in the present situation should place in the center of its principal activities. It is no longer sufficient to simply invoke, for example, the implementation of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program, to criticize and accuse those who fail to implement it, to speak about opposition forces and invoke the breaking down of these forces, and so on. It is necessary to resolutely make actual moves, to make changes that will open up the road to implementation of the stabilization program."

A reporter then quotes Minic as being of the opinion "that the primary task of the LC is the implementation of the constitutional position of the workers in deciding upon the surplus of work and social reproduction." Minic then adds in a recorded passage: "How many times, comrades, have we said this in our congress, Central Committee sessions, and other documents and yet in practice our society does not advance in this direction. On the contrary, one can prove that it has been going backward. Therefore, in my opinion, the first and foremost task and aim at this session should be formulated in the following way: By the end of the first half of the year, the competent organs at all levels should adopt decisions on efficacious measures that would enable the beginning of an intensification in the participation of the economy, that is, organizations of associated labor in the economy, in the distribution of income. This would also mean that the level of this participation during the first years of the next 5-year social plan of Yugoslavia should reach the level it did in 1975, when it was over 70 percent of the total income of the country's economy. Everyone and everything, self-managing interest communities, budgets, banks, can take from producers, from the economy, from basic organizations of associated labor, and they are now returning as much as they want and in the way they want. This is impossible and should be stopped and the only way to do so is to increase the participation of the economy in the income."

Minic is cited by a reporter as including "the curbing of inflation among the most important tasks. It would be necessary to adapt the anti-inflation program or to adopt the old one, and not to stubbornly stick to the concept that brings increasingly greater problems, he said, bearing in mind yesterday's speech by Milka Planinc. Among the tasks of primary importance, Milos Minic also included adopting the decision on curbing the fall of personal incomes and the standard of living, and then a reexamination of all adopted economic policy measures for 1985, as well as that all leaderships should inspect the position of young people and their problem with employment. Minic also suggested that the next plenum should discuss the work of the Central Committee."

Again in a 1400 GMT cast report, speaking about two opinions expressed during the party debate concerning the election of Central Committee members -- retain the present method or elect members at the congress -- Budimir Vukasinovic says in a recorded passage:

"There were also different opinions about how many delegates should attend the congress, ranging from one that the number is too large, to one that it is too small and that it should be increased considering the significance of the gathering. It seems to me that it is more important to examine the idea that the term of office of delegates last until the next congress. According to this idea, the delegates would meet at least once during their term of office, at the obligatory conference."

Milan Dzajkovski, in the 1400 GMT cast is reported to have spoken about the negative consequences of the foreign exchange system and to have pointed out that "in this respect, ideological differences are emphasized even within the LCY Central Committee itself," and that "the hesitation will be removed by the end of the year, since the question of the functioning of the foreign exchange system has been included in the agenda of the LCY Central Committee anyway."

Further in the 1400 GMT cast report, Nijaz Dizdarevic says in a recorded message: "I would like to remind you that the problem of federalization in the party, which is being manifested primarily in the LCY Central Committee, appeared after the Ninth LCY Congress, which was the congress of democratization and reorganization of the LC. The explanation of the statutory amendments that returned the Central Committee instead of the conference at the 10th congress, if you remember, and abolished the conference and constituted the Presidium as an executive organ, says that the provisions on democratic centralism that were then incorporated into the statute removed everything that pushed toward or, through various interpretations, opened a possibility for the federalization of the LCY. This was said at the 10th congress." Stating that not everyone accepts democratic centralism, that "the problem of federalization is appearing, therefore we should ask ourselves whether we have eliminated everything from the possibly wrong moves we made at the ninth congress pertaining to LC reorganization."

Ivica Racan is reported to have spoken on the necessity of opening critical debate on the issues pointed to the party debate, and to have said "the time has come when we cannot be satisfied with mere statements.... The seriousness of these processes demands open and concrete discussion, otherwise we will hardly prevent the public asking: Whom are you telling that to?" Speaking about the criticism that during the general party debate was directed toward the LCY and particularly toward its leaders, Racan adds in a recorded passage: "Besides, criticism was directed toward the Central Committee and its Presidium for not being far more persistent in settling different views and in achieving greater unity on the most important problems of sociopolitical development. Of course -- and this was discussed recently -- in these criticisms there was also carping, as well as the kind of criticism we cannot accept. However, this must not be an alibi for us not to be consistent and principled in relation to the kind of criticism I mentioned."

The next speaker, Ilija Radakovic, is reported to have "insisted that the part of the conclusions dealing with cadre elections should include, in addition to professionalism, honesty, ideological orientation, and Marxist training."

The announcer goes on to state that in "polemicizing with Milka Planinc's views on the anti-inflation program," Ivo Perisin said that "it is not true that the program was not implemented because it was unrealistic. And even if this had been so, the Federal Executive Council should have stated its opinion with arguments and on time. If one disputes the realistic nature of the anti-inflation program, then, according to Perisin, many conclusions are worthless -- those on improving the position of associated labor, improving standards, on solving social problems, and on the struggle against inflation."

According to Perisin, the so-called zero-variant of the resolution [dealing with the situation in case of inability to repay debts] was never presented to Central Committee members. As concerns inflation, he particularly warned about the fact that interest rates are the main cause of expenditure." In a subsequent recorded passage Perisin says: "[I] contend that our economy, as long as one can remember, pays interest that is higher than the inflation rate. In our country, the economy has various financial investments. Some of these are the so-called obligatory loans -- for financing faster development of the underdeveloped republics and Kovovo, for communes [words indistinct], for various purposes according to decisions of sociopolitical communities, and finally, for those infamous funds of common reserves." Perisin then gives figures for Croatia, stating that in 1983 the Croatian economy had 40 billion dinars of these obligations on which it received 1.2 billion in interest at the rate of 2.8 percent, and it took credits of 58 billion dinars, paying interest of 17 billion at the rate of 30 percent.

A reporter then goes on to say that "Milka Planinc was the next to take the floor with a view to explaining the view on the anti-inflation program. Saying that last night she spoke on her own behalf, Milka Planinc pointed out that she had no intention of speaking against the program, instead of warn about the fact that the time at which the anti-inflation program was written, and the present time -- in which it is to be implemented -- are not the same. We are forced to make different moves because of relations with foreign countries, Milka Planinc said, emphasizing that there is now a great need for renovation of the anti-inflation program. Since among the experts there are considerable differences on the program, the Federal Executive Council will present alternatives to the Central Committee. Further on, Milka Planinc said that she accepted the warning that the activity of the subjective factor depends on the system as well, but she also warned of a contradictory situation at the moment. Namely, some systemic laws have been adopted but there is nevertheless no action by subjective forces. Ali Sukrija then iterated that the anti-inflation program will be discussed by the Central Committee.

Further in the Belgrade Domestic Service 1400 broadcast, Josip Vrhovec is reported to have "expressed an opinion about discussions heard today and yesterday about the anti-inflation program that are mutually exclusive. We must decide whether the anti-inflation program failed or not, and we cannot part without such a decision. Speaking in favor of completely clear stands of the Central Committee upon all questions, so that the activity of the body would in no way be called into doubt, Josip Vrhovec dwelled upon an article dealing with the indebtedness of Yugoslavia in the 1976-1980 period [Scepan Rabrenovic article in NIN on 10 Feb] and said that he checked with the shorthand report on the session of the Presidency that served as an illustration in the article on how we got into debt. Everything that was written is a lie, and I demand a denial, Vrhovec said, then quoting a part of the shorthand report in which Edvard Kardelj, at the time vice president, warns that the plans of the republics, provinces, and the federation are taking the doubtful view of over-indebtedness, which will require a moratorium, and this will cause a difficult situation in the country and the loss of political prestige in the world.

"After opposing tolerance of an article that presents the Central Committee and the highest leadership in a distorted light, Vrhovic stated that the Central Committee Presidium must be organized in such a way that it will act more successfully in society, on the basis of clear stands, about the strategic directions of development so that nobody will be amazed after 5 years over decisions made."

Tihomir Vilovic is reported to have "expressed doubt that the 16th session will fulfill the members' expectations, that it will deal with the work of the Central Committee and not retell the public debate. Why do the Central Committee sessions fail to state the full names of those who deviate from the stands of both the Central Committee and the LC? he asked, and agreed with the proposal that the method of work of the Central Committee should be discussed immediately. The prepared program of work up to the 13th congress failed to stress the questions of exceptional importance and one of them definitely should be achieving a preparedness for action by the LC by removing from party ranks those who fail to fulfill tasks. This would, Vilovic thinks, strengthen the confidence of workers and the people in the LC.

The report on the second day of the LCY Central Committee session, 6 March, carried by Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1800 GMT on the same day covers the morning debate and Jure Bilic presenting the conclusions adopted unanimously at the afternoon session after discussion of proposed amendments. Jure Bilic is reported to have said that "full unity has been achieved regarding the content and spirit of the conclusions, which means that no questions should be opened in the future in a way contrary to what has been concluded. All this speaks for the fact that party practice, even the method of work in the LCY Central Committee, must undergo changes."

A reporter goes on to say that 146 amendments were proposed on the draft conclusions, most of them demanding that almost every article of the conclusions include either an LC program orientation or some principle of the Constitution or of the Law on Associated Labor. The following people were reported to have proposed amendments during the afternoon session: Marko Djuricin, Marko Orlandic, Nijaz Dizdarevic, Milos Minic, Veselin Djuranovic, and Dragutin Kosovac.

The plenum is reported to have discussed and adopted the program of work of the Central Committee. "The debate on the working program," the reporter continues, "in which Ali Sukrija, Milos Minic, Majda Puhar, Zivan Vasiljevic, and Dimce Belovski took part assessed that it is not suitable to organize special LC conferences prior to the congress. If necessary, the planned topics can be discussed at expanded Central Committee sessions. The individual Central Committee members' suggestions that a special Central Committee session should be devoted to analysing the work of the Central Committee and its Presidium met with partial support. It was agreed that one of the next Central Committee sessions should discuss this, but only as one item on the agenda, and in conformity with the obligation in the conclusions about strengthening the leading role of the LC in society." The reporter ends by saying that the next session, to be held at the end of March or the beginning of April, will discuss the implementation of the anti-inflation program and the employment policy.

After providing several recorded passages of unidentified speakers, the announcer in the "Sunday at 10" feature program at 0900 GMT on 10 March says: "At the 16th plenum, Milos Minic energetically spoke in favor of the conclusions being as specific as possible, and in this respect offered several amendments pertaining to the position of the economy, productivity, and exports, but surprisingly, at first these amendments did badly in the draft conclusions, with the explanation that their contents are too operational. Only after another Minic intervention and the remark that not all tasks can be placed on the same level, because there are always urgent and more urgent duties, were these amendments adopted. This plenary episode shows how old habits and established practice are sometimes slow and difficult to change."

Orientation Program of Work

LD091045 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0535 GMT 9 Mar 85

["Orientation Program of Work of the LCY Central Committee up to the 13th LCY Congress"
-- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG) -- The overall results of the public discussion, the knowledge acquired, and the activities triggered off in connection with the draft conclusions of the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee have necessitated changes in the existing program and the adoption of a new program of work of the Central Committee that will be the basis of its activity prior to the 13th LCY Congress.

The public discussion reaffirmed the loyalty of the LCY and of our working class and our working people to the fundamental orientations of our socialist revolution on Tito's working class line.

The public discussion has provided a very extensive support for the LCY and for the implementation of its leading role, but this was coupled with very severe and justified criticism because of the disunity, inefficiency, slowness, delays, and irresolution. What was subject to special criticism was the work of the LC organs, especially the LCY Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The demands that were expressed most frequently and with the greatest resolve concerned further efficient action in the direction of the implementation of the objectives and tasks of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization and stable material development of the country, implementation of the constitutional rights of the working class and of the further development of socialist self-management, consolidation of the Yugoslav federation as a community of equal nations and nationalities parallel with efficient functioning of the political system, and the implementation of the function and of the role of the LCY and of all other subjective social factors.

In this context the demands were stressed that the LCY Central Committee should make a more decisive contribution in the quest for solutions to existing socioeconomic contradictions and outstanding problems of the socialist self-management development of our society.

On the basis of this knowledge and proceeding from its responsibilities, the LCY Central Committee singles out in its orientation work program prior to the 13th LCY Congress the following priority and key questions to be discussed at its sessions.

I. March-July 1985

1. Implementation of the anti-inflation program.
2. Implementation of the policy of employment and social policy.
3. Discussion of the role and the work of the LCY Central Committee.
4. Implementation and further development of the constitutional concept of the Yugoslav confederation.
5. Implementation of the constitutional position of the workers in associated labor in decisionmaking and in using the income and the resources of social reproduction.

6. Development of economic relations with foreign countries, and especially of the foreign currency system.
7. The final document of a critical analysis of the functioning of the political system of socialist self-management and the laying-down of ideopolitical stands for its improvement and further development.
8. The platform for the preparations of the 13th LCY Congress.
9. The report on the work of the LCY Central Committee Presidium in the period between June 1984 and June 1985.

II. September 1985-June 1986

1. Topical ideopolitical questions and tasks on the LC in the implementation of the social role and of the position of our young generation in our society.
2. Social-class structure of the LC and implementation of the cadre policy.
3. Basic economic-political questions of the new medium-term plan and of the strategy of the technological development of the country.
4. Assessment of the implementation of socioeconomic development in 1985 and the development and economic policy in 1986.
5. Current ideopolitical developments in our society.
6. Implementation of the role of the LCY in the front of organized socialist forces.
7. The ideopolitical basis for organizational and statute changes.
8. The adoption of a decision on managing, using, and utilizing LCY resources.
9. The report on the activity of the LCY and on the work of the LCY Central Committee between the 12th and the 13th LCY Congress.
10. The draft of the resolution and of other documents for the 13th LCY Congress.
11. Draft changes and addenda to the LCY Statute.
12. The report on the work of the LCY Central Committee Presidium in the period between June 1985 and June 1986.

The protagonist of the preparations of the ideopolitical stands of the aforementioned issues is the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the commission for preparation of the 13th LCY Congress, and LCY Central Committee Commissions-with LCY Central Committee members and scientific and public workers being involved as well.

The LCY Central Committee has asked the LCY Central Committee Presidium to work out an operative plan regarding the implementation of this program.

The LCY Central Committee has asked the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in cooperation with central and provincial committees, to prepare draft ideopolitical stands for the discussion on the aforementioned issues at LCY Central Committee sessions.

The LCY Central Committee has made it incumbent on Communists in the organs and organizations of the federation to become fully involved, within the ambit of duties and commitments, and near their own share of responsibility in the implementation of their key socioeconomic tasks.

The LCY Central Committee has made it incumbent on the commissions within the ambit of their own activity, to become involved in the implementation of the aforementioned tasks and, in keeping with the above, improve their programs of work and channel their activity.

The broadest circle of sociopolitical, public, scientific, cultural and other workers is to be assembled and involved in the preparation of the ideopolitical stands for the implementation of this program.

This also requires a higher level involvement of scholarly institutions and Marxist centers on the further theoretical elaboration of individual questions important for the further socialist self-management development of the Yugoslav society and community.

Central Committee Conclusions

LD092314 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0720 GMT 9 Mar 85

["Conclusions of the LCY Central Committee on the Implementation of the Leading Role and Consolidation of Ideological and Action Unity of LCY" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG) -- At its 13th session, on 12 and 13 June 1984, the LCY Central Committee discussed implementation of its leading role and consolidation of LCY ideological action and unity. In keeping with the conclusion adopted at that session, an LCY commission prepared, and the LCY Central Committee Presidium approved, draft conclusions of the LCY Central Committee and sent the report out to LC organizations and organs for discussion.

An open and critical discussion, held in connection with the proposed conclusions, strongly reaffirmed the conviction of the Communists and working people about the need to ensure that the further progress of our society is consistent with development of socialist self-management and consolidation of the power of the working class by establishing links between the workers in associated labor in the socialist community of equal nations and nationalities and by strengthening brotherhood and unity, combined with the creative leading role of the LCY.

LCY members, workers, working people, and citizens spoke frankly and critically about hesitation, opposition to, and deviations from the established policy, about statism and bureaucratization of social relations, about nationalism, manifestations of disunity, opportunism, irresponsibility, and inefficiency. A number of actions were launched to eliminate everything that is hampering the implementation of the agreed LCY policy. Regarding this, further intensive work has to be pursued and concrete activity developed in all LCY organizations and organs and in our society as a whole. The messages and demands of this massive democratic dialogue represent a major commitment and encouragement for the LCY and for all socialist forces.

It was stressed in the discussion that the LCY, under conditions of accumulated difficulties in our social and economic development and in the present day world in general, must consistently and in a committed way, operating like Tito's revolutionary party, respond to its historic role, vigorously resolve the problems in the development of our society, and eliminate the shortcomings within its own ranks. It must speed up its activity so that the stability of Yugoslav socialist self-management society can be fully ensured. The influence and active role of our society and of its independent and nonaligned policy in the struggle for socialism, peace, progress, and equal relations in the world must also be increased.

The problems in our society have piled up and the contradictions aggravated to such an extent that the ability of the LCY to carry out its creative leading role and attain ideological and action unity in the struggle for the implementation of the interests of the working class and for the successful functioning of the system of socialist self-management is of crucial importance for the further course of the revolution and for the political situation in the country. The stands, assessments, and demands stemming from the public debate make it incumbent on the LCY, and especially on its leaders, with concrete political actions and orientations within the system, to mobilize the working class and all working people in an uncompromising struggle to make further breakthroughs in the implementation of socialist self-management relations and in overcoming the present stagnation in the march of our revolution.

In connection with the debate, statements were made here and there that ran counter to the basic line of our policy. Some individuals made an attempt to take advantage of this open debate to advance alien ideological and political stands and messages. However, the debate has made a visible contribution to a vigorous suppression of such attempts.

The debate brought forward many proposals to add to and to improve the text of the conclusions. Many topical social, economic, and political issues were brought up as well, and these, in addition to the stands inherent in these conclusions, will be discussed and resolved more extensively within the framework of the preparations for the 13th LCY Congress, within the ambit of the current LCY Central Committee activity and in other social bodies and organs. Proposals were also made for specific provisions of the present LCY Statute to be changed. Since only the congress can change the LCY Statute, the Central Committee will discuss these proposals when they are preparing the drafts of the changes and additions to the LCY Statute for the 13th LCY Congress.

Processing from the critical assessments, stands, views, and suggestions, and the debate as a whole that is binding on all LCY organizations and leaderships, and from the substance of the proposed amendments and the discussion at the session, at its 16th session, held on 5 and 6 March 1985, the LCY Central Committee adopts:

Conclusions on Implementation of the Leading Role and Consolidation of the Ideological and Action Unity of the LCY

I.

1. Proceeding from the fact that the present stage of the development of socialist self-management is decisive for the future of Yugoslav society, the Communists and the LCY organizations and organs must strengthen their ideopolitical action unity and develop the broadest possible creative initiatives of the working class and the working people and citizens regarding further development. The struggle to implement socialist self-management production relations as established by the Constitution, and the status and the role of basic organizations of associated labor as basic cells of our socio-economic political system, and therefore also both the social and the economic status of the workers in associated labor and in our society, is the basic feature of this stage.

In this struggle only the implementation of socialist self-management production relations, respect for the constitutional position and role of the socialist republics and provinces, and consistent application, improvement, and development of our economic and political system can successfully overcome the present economic crisis, break down bureaucratic, statist, and technocratic resistance, and ensure economic and social development of our socialist self-management integration upon stable economic and social foundations.

The long-term programs of stabilization have opened up the prospect of further successful development of Yugoslav society, and deep changes in production relations, in the status of economic and social subjects, and in the conduct and awareness of our people and their way of life. The LCY must resist all the tendencies that bypass and negate socialist self-management and the laws of socialist commodity production and of the market. Since the established deadlines for application of the measures pertaining to the first phase of the economic stabilization program have expired, all LC organizations and leaderships, and especially at the federal, republican, and provincial level, must far more vigorously than previously act on removing opposition to the implementation of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization so that all the changes in our economic system and development policy and the economic policy measures envisaged by that program can be laid down as soon as possible.

The Communists, and particularly those holding prominent social offices, who do not carry out the established policy and LCY decisions, who reopen discussions on agreed stands inherent in the long-term program, and who display an irresponsible attitude toward the commitments arising out of its implementation must accept the consequences for that, up to and including being relieved from duty and expelled from the LC.

The LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, in keeping with their responsibilities, must, together with other social factors, organize work to overcome the differences and to build unified ideological orientations and solutions regarding the outstanding questions of the development of the socioeconomic and sociopolitical system for the sake of strengthening self-management and making economic operations more efficient. Science and creative work, as the basis for self-management and social planning and decisionmaking about economic and development policy, must be included in this on a more extensive scale.

2. The LCY Central Committee makes it incumbent on the Communists in the organs of sociopolitical communities and in self-management bodies and in sociopolitical organizations to immediately set in motion the activity to assess critically the implementation of the anti-inflation program and to take measures to control and curb inflation. At its next session the LCY Central Committee will discuss current ideopolitical problems of the implementation of the anti-inflation program.

The Communists in self-management and state organs carry full responsibility for the adoption of comprehensive measures in the implementation of the anti-inflation program. Economic policies must also serve this function.

The belief that irrational use of capacities, low productivity, and poor organization of production and work, and the resulting high production costs, should be covered by price increases is unacceptable. The Central Committee stresses the social commitment and responsibility of appropriate organs without hesitation to take economic and legal measures against all those who increase prices by disregarding economic criteria and in violation of the adopted economic policy. This has to be done especially against those who are behaving in this way on the basis of their monopoly position, encapsulating and wrecking the unity of the Yugoslav market.

It is impermissible for the decisions about price fixing to be adopted in management structures by ignoring the self-management organs and the say of the workers in this matter and without heeding broader economic, political, and social consequences. The Communists in the delegate assemblies of sociopolitical and self-management interest communities, in the chambers and other associations of our economy, when discussing and giving their agreement to price increases must also take note of the impact they will have on the standard of living of our working people and citizens. Realistic explanations must be given for every such price increase. In all this the trade unions have a special role to play and a special responsibility.

The operation of individual instruments of our economic system and of economic policy measures must be perceived in order to increase the independence of the organizations of associated labor and to allow them to rely more on their own resources, coupled with the consideration of economic forces. In this connection those instruments and measures have to be further enacted or changed, which, contrary to the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization and under various appropriate guises, devalue and make a considerable portion of the revenue of organizations of associated labor flow from one branch to another. Within the shortest possible period of time a comprehensive evaluation has to be made of the realistic material position of organizations of associated labor and programs worked out for easing the burden on the economy and strengthening its accumulative and reproduction ability. In this context the high level of indebtedness of economic organizations has to be reviewed and a package of measures, especially in the credit-monetary and banking system, worked out more thoroughly to disburden the economy and to make impossible the reproduction of relations that make the economy subordinate to the banks and that prevent organizations of associated labor from taking on the full responsibility to engage in simple and extended reproduction. During the first years of the new medium-term plan an essential redistribution of income to the advantage of the economy has to be ensured.

In this context programs have to be worked out and carried out, ranging from the basic organization of associated labor to the federation.

3. Mergers between basic and other organizations of associated labor upon income principles throughout the SFRY territory must be encouraged with economic measures, elaboration of the economic system instruments, and with the activity of subjective factors. The Communists must fight against economic disintegration and autarchy and to strengthen the unity of the Yugoslav market. In so doing they must resist the concepts that the market alone, without appropriate plan solutions, will lead to the integration of the Yugoslav economy; they must also resist the notions that this can be attained only as a result of solutions provided by state organs.

Proceeding from the interests of associated labor the transformation of the banks and of insurance organizations must be carried out more resolutely and on self-management foundations.

Self-management links and the pooling of labor and resources represent the economic basis of socialist togetherness as a new historic quality of our community, which makes possible full national equality and affirmation of all our nations and nationalities. This requires the scope to be reduced and the possibilities removed, as much as possible, of the intermediary role between the working people and the results of their work being carried out by those political and social factors and the alleged elites, who by the very logic of the defense of their own privileged position, objectively speaking, are pitted against socialist self-management and the true power of the working class. Under the mantle of self-management they develop statism instead of democratic forms; instead of associating the labor and the resources, they develop their atomization; instead of supporting the power of the workers, they bureaucratically manipulate their interests; and instead of promoting togetherness, they promote appropriation, antagonism, suspicions, and so forth.

4. In order to overcome the current spirit of autarchy in our development, the work on the medium-term plans for the period ending in 1990 has to be used to work out the development plans that will more resolutely incorporate our economy in the world market and the international division of labor and raise the overall development of our economy to a higher level that will create the possibility for normalizing our foreign debt repayments and ensure regular supplies for our economy from the imports. In this context LC organizations, especially their leaders, together with the trade union and self-management organs in organizations of associated labor, chambers of economy, and delegate assemblies, must launch an action to unite and devise such production programs within the framework of the unified Yugoslav economic development and elaboration of plans to help develop large-scale and rational production with which we shall be able to incorporate ourselves in the international division of labor on a rather more equal footing and satisfy the requirements of our internal market. The association between various firms, which does not primarily mean an appearance on the world market, has no serious chance of being established on the Yugoslav market because this market, objectively speaking, is too small for the development and full use of the capacities of the biggest section of our economy.

5. It is a commitment of the Communists to fight more resolutely to eliminate the causes that lead to the bureaucratization of our society. They should get involved with reducing the excessive legislation that hampers creative work and initiative and lowers the responsibility of economic and social subjects. Socialist self-management must not be a smoke-screen for negligence, idleness, irresponsible behavior, and group-ownership pressure and misappropriation of the results of other people's work. There are no rights without responsibilities and obligations. The Communists must fight to enhance the responsibility of all the subjects who, with self-management agreements and social accords, influence the formulation and adoption of decisions and also influence the implementation of material rights and commitments in social reproduction.

6. The results of every individual's work and his attitude toward the implementation of the Constitution, the Law on Associated Labor, and the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization constitute the decisive criterion for a democratic pursuit of the cadre policy. Those people have to be elected to leading posts who are professional and capable and are prepared to organize successful operations and contribute to the development of socialist self-management and the implementation of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization. The manifestations of mistrust toward the election of young people to leading posts must be resisted.

Communists must not tolerate poor business operations, investment mistakes, and other shortcomings. The reasons must be established why, even in equal conditions of economic operations and compared with other organizations, some organizations of associated labor have a revenue that is a fraction of that of the others and a lower productivity of labor in relation to the social resources and gross revenue and accumulation involved per employee. The causes of this kind of situation must be eliminated and the consolidation of individual and collective responsibility implemented. Those people who are not prepared to work or who are incapable of working, in keeping with the demands of the present-day development of production forces of our society, efficient economic operations, and promotion of socialist self-management relations must be changed from the leading posts. Those whose stands and conduct are contrary to the interests and orientations of our socialist self-management society cannot be elected to senior posts of work.

7. The LC will work for consistent implementation of the principle of distribution according to results of work and in accordance with the contribution made to the successful business operation and management of the resources of social reproduction.

On the basis of the adopted social accord on joint foundations and criteria for self-management, settlement of relations regarding the earnings and the distribution of income, social accords by the republics and provinces, and self-management agreements in associated labor must be adopted as soon as possible. The Communists must become involved in faster and more efficient overcoming of the obstacles barring the way to the consistent implementation of the principles of distribution according to the results of work. In fighting against the processes of levelling out income, deserved high personal income that is the result of work, of growing labor productivity, of innovation, and of creative effort must be supported. A critical reexamination of the distribution of income must be carried out in individual organizations of associated labor, self-management interest communities, banks, and foreign trade, insurance, and other organizations in which high personal income is distributed and behind which there are no corresponding results of work. Agreed stands have to be implemented and criteria adopted to separate and to channel unearned income and additional income and ensure its use to strengthen the material basis of labor.

Full mobilization of subjective forces is required to eliminate internal shortcomings and other reasons causing business operations to run at a loss. The Communists must resist the efforts whereby the losses in the operations of organizations of associated labor are made good through solidarity payments for which there is no economic justification and which cover up the responsibility for poor business operations. Reciprocal and solidarity support must be based on a program that will prevent losses and make it possible to ensure restructuring of production and social security of the workers by one's own productive work and by linking with other organizations of associated labor.

8. LC organizations and organs must set in motion the initiative so that self-management organs in organizations of associated labor and the organs in sociopolitical communities can adopt, as soon as possible, concrete measures to halt a fall and encourage the growth of real wages. Any increase in personal income must be based on increased labor productivity, more efficient economic operations, and management of the resources of social reproduction, and on the income acquired on this basis. The activity of the LC must be channeled into the establishment of conditions where, with their productive work and more efficient management of social resources, the workers can earn the revenue of basic organizations of associated labor and their personal income which will provide them with material and social security. At the same time concrete measures must be taken to protect the standard of living of the workers and of pensioners on low total income, especially in industrial centers and big cities.

In the struggle to reduce social differences that are not based on work and the results of work, and which are assuming increasingly serious dimensions, their causes must be vigorously removed, the duty on property levied much more stringently, and the property acquired in an illegal way seized. The LC must become involved more vigorously in the struggle against economic crime, graft, and corruption, and against material and other privileges and all forms of social property being transferred into private property. The possibility of revaluing the long-term credits and the rates of interest on the credits must be reviewed and this must be combined with devising appropriate criteria to protect the standard of living of the workers on a relatively low income who had taken loans to resolve their own housing problems.

It is necessary to reexamine self-management acts and laws and change in them those provisions that allow privatization of social property and of group-ownership conduct. The decisions on business and other agreements that regulate the basic relations between organizations of associated labor and the people who in their private work use the resources that are the property of our citizens must be adopted by self-management organs, which must also brief the collectives on that. Taxation policy must ensure that the citizens are paying taxes that are commensurate with their economic strength.

9. Unemployment is a major ideopolitical, economic, and social problem of our society. This is why the LC must in its ranks maximally sharpen the question of responsibility of those people who do not take account of employment as an element of development, who do not create the conditions for new production employment, who make nonrational use of economic potentials and existing capacities, and who by their group-ownership behavior in organizations of associated labor make it impossible for young people to be employed.

Conditions must be established for faster production employment, especially of skilled young people. Employment priorities must be elaborated further, their consistent application must be ensured, and it must be established who in fact can be called unemployed. The question of employing people will be resolved faster with this sort of conduct and by faster development of agriculture, tertiary activities -- especially the artisan production sector -- tourism, and personal work using the resources owned by the citizens, and so forth.

It is the task of the Communists to work for concrete measures and activities laid down in the social accord on the joint foundations of the employment policy and its implementation in the republics and provinces. Carrying out these tasks the LC, with other subjective forces will introduce realistic prospects for our younger generation regarding the solution of the unemployment problem.

10. New possibilities have to be devised to encourage housing construction and to resolve more quickly the housing problem of the workers, especially those in material production and in other social activities where housing problems are very serious indeed. The regulations rendering housing construction difficult or those that prevent it from taking place, and especially the procedure of obtaining building and local authority permits, must be changed.

Rents and the cost of local authority services must gradually be brought to the level where they will at least ensure the simple reproduction of the building value of the housing fund, and at the same time provide a subsidy for a portion of the cost of housing for workers on low incomes.

The Communists working in municipal assemblies must strive to ensure that detailed urban development plans are worked out and elaborated within the shortest possible period of time. This will make possible rational social and private housing construction and greater protection of agricultural land. The quest must go on for the opportunity to create more favorable conditions to provide credits for housing construction, and to stimulate the share of the parties interested in the solution of their housing problems, and of their work organizations, too.

It is necessary to carry out changes in the regulations that regulate the method of management of the housing fund, in the direction of further asserting the rights, powers, and responsibilities of housing councils and meetings of apartment occupiers. This is an essential precondition both for greater concern regarding the preservation of the housing fund and for its rational use.

The Central Committee stresses the need to continue the action to build solidarity apartments and makes it incumbent on the Communists and on LC organizations and leaderships to work for the establishment of concrete programs of this activity.

11. The Communists are being asked to become directly involved so that during the year 1985 all organizations of associated labor, republics, provinces, and the federation establish their real financial balance sheets. They are all duty-bound to reduce their expenditure within the framework of their real possibilities. Financial consolidation of the economy, of the banks, and other social subjects is required.

Proceeding from the stands of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization and public debate the LCY Central Committee has made a critical assessment of the causes of our country's great indebtedness and individual investment mistakes. In conditions of inadequately developed self-management and excessive demands for faster development, development plans were to a great extent an expression of imposition of statist-bureaucratic will and decisionmaking of restricted circles without any realistic financial cover, predominantly based on foreign resources and future accumulation, on autarchic conduct and neglect of a united strategy of the economic development of our country. Nor has science always given the right answers to specific investment initiatives. Despite these mistakes and shortcomings we have considerably developed the production forces of our society. While fully respecting the messages and the experience that we have acquired we must strengthen the role of the workers in associated labor, self-management organs, and delegate assemblies, and also of the organs of the federation in preventing and eliminating the disruptions in social reproduction and in preventing nonrational investments and debts from being made. Earlier mistakes and practice cannot be permitted in the new medium- and long-term development plans.

The causes of excessive growth, nonrational organization, and inadequate efficiency of the administration in all the areas of economic and social superstructure must be resolutely surmounted with well-thought-out actions. Concrete programs must be worked out in order to achieve this.

Production and export programs in reproduction entities should be established on the basis of the self-managing association and linking of organizations of associated labor. In this regard the LC must conduct and organize concrete action in all organizations of associated labor and in all environments. This action also includes the realization of joint development programs in science and its application in production and in managing organizations of associated labor. This orientation should be supported through economic policy measures. This is a prerequisite for successfully overcoming difficulties, creation of accumulation necessary for developing economy, exports, and for repaying our foreign debts.

Organizations of associated labor, the chambers of economy, and the assemblies should reexamine the efficiency of the country's foreign trade network at home and abroad and the way in which it is organized.

Communists must be in the forefront of the struggle for economizing and for more rational use of energy and raw materials, for reducing the great losses incurred by exporting and then importing one and the same product, for eliminating in a decisive way all forms of competition between our firms on foreign markets.

The implementation of the economic stabilization program requires, above all, that we rely on our own resources, but also the participation of foreign accumulation through credits. Relations with international financial institutions should be based on the principles that take into consideration the sovereignty, autonomy, and independence of our country. By the same token, in these relations the principle by which those who incur foreign debts should repay them, should also be applied.

12. The competent institutions should as soon as possible, agree upon the long-term strategy of economic, scientific, and technological development, as well as the strategy of our participation in the international division of labor. In this we must proceed from the unity of interests of the working class and associated labor and from the joint interests of our nations and nationalities, republics and provinces. A more harmonious economic and social development and the protection of the human environment all represent an important part of our plans and development programs.

Urgent changes in the system of self-managing social planning should be made within the frameworks set out in the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization. It is the duty of LC organizations and organs to ensure, through their initiatives and involvement, that medium-term and long-term development plans be adopted by organizations of associated labor, municipalities, republics, provinces, and by the federation in a timely manner. In view of their technical and technological unity, complex organizations of associated labor and large systems should pay particular attention to their development plans.

It is necessary to adopt, as soon as possible, the criteria for and indicators of the development of the republic and provinces and to work out a system and policy for stimulating more rapid development of the insufficiently developed socialist republics and particularly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

13. Though social action conditions should be created in which relations between economic and social activities develop on the principles of the free exchange of labor. Basically speaking, education, science, culture, health service, and other social activities should occupy the same sociopolitical position as economic activities. It is necessary to analyze and promote the experiences gained in the implementation of educational reform. This calls for an improvement in the material and social position of workers in these spheres in accordance with their contribution to society as a whole.

II.

14. The LC will take part, in an organized and resolute manner, in the implementation of the Constitution, in the search for numerous problems in the functioning of the political system and in its further development. To achieve this, the work on promoting the practice and improving the political system should be speeded up. The proposals for the changes in the political system, on the basis of the critical analysis initiated by the LC must be directed toward the further development of socialist self-managing production relations, of socialist self-managing democracy, and the strengthening of our community's cohesion on the principles of the federal system, equality, brotherhood, and unity of our nations and nationalities, and toward greater efficiency in decisionmaking and a more responsible attitude, at all levels, to the implementation of the established policy. The political system and improvements and changes in it must more directly correspond to the demands of the system of socio-economic relations and to the implementation of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization.

Through its activity in self-management organizations and communities, in delegations, delegate organs and bodies, the LC will, in conjunction with all the organized socialist forces, conduct a resolute struggle to make the delegate system efficient to the maximum and to become the real center of social decisionmaking, a democratic vehicle for expressing and coordinating the multitude of differing self-managing interests of workers and working people in basic and other self-managing organizations and communities, as well as a vehicle through which they can exert influence on the way in which income and accumulation circulate and pool together in associated labor and society. In addition, it should be ensured that personal and collective responsibilities for performing all working and other social functions are discharged in a clear and consistent way.

The LC cannot accept those demands for changes that question the fundamental social principles, the working-class and socialist self-managing character of our political system and the constitutional provisions regarding the equality of our nations and nationalities and the position and role of the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces.

Through its activity the LCY Central Committee should contribute to the more rapid surmounting of difficulties and to the elimination of the shortcomings occurring in the implementation of the constitutional concept of the federation, the republics, and the provinces. It should also ensure that the unacceptable stands in explaining and interpreting the bases of relations in the SFRY are suppressed. The LC is in favor of enhancing the responsibility of the republics and the socialist autonomous provinces in implementing their federal functions and of more efficient work by the federation's organs. The LC also resolutely opposes republican and provincial insularity and statism, particularistic and separatist tendencies, and the manifestations of the weakening of the role of the federation and its organs.

At the same time the LC resolutely rejects any attempts to impose bureaucratic centralism and unitarism and everything that decelerates or blocks the process of decision-making in the federation's organs and its implementation.

The failure to implement constitutional provisions and political principles regarding the unity of Yugoslavia's market calls for an urgent reexamination and change of those laws and regulations, decisions and behavior at all levels that disrupt and divide it and protect those who are trying to establish monopolistic relations. It is necessary to remove, in a more resolute way, any obstacles and resistance to the free pooling together of labor and resources on the entire Yugoslav territory. The LC will also advocate the creation of all political and other conditions necessary so that the federation's organs can fulfill their role with full authority and responsibility. The LC should also effectively oppose the increasing number of cases of failure to conform to federal regulations or to implement them on a selective basis. In this sphere it is necessary to apply the principle whereby republican and provincial organs will ensure that federal regulations are implemented as if they were their own, but it is also necessary to reexamine decisions about the implementation of federal laws, regulations, and general acts in order to establish with whom responsibility lies, to enhance federal organs' responsibility, and to ensure that they fulfill their role in an efficient way.

The realization of the constitutional position of the SR of Serbia, and of the Socialist Autonomous Provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina within it, which are, at the same time, the constituent elements of the Yugoslav Federation, and the realization of the unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia as a state and self-managing democratic community, are of particular importance for the development of socialist self-management and for the realization of the constitutional concept of the federation.

The LCY, and particularly the Serbia LC Central Committee, as well as the Kosovo LC Committee and Vojvodina LC Committee, are responsible for development along these lines and for promoting relations within the SR of Serbia that will be in the interest not only of the SR of Serbia and the socialist autonomous provinces but of the SFRY as a whole.

15. The LC must not allow LC organizations and organs and individuals to assume the role and responsibility of self-managing, social, and state organs and institutions. However, it must not allow the LC to be left out when solutions to essential issues of our further development and the life of working people are being searched for.

Radical steps must be made to overcome LC organizations' and organs' bureaucratic attitude toward self-managing organs and other subjects and institutions in our socio-economic and political system. An essential prerequisite for eliminating this kind of relations and phenomena is to overcome bureaucratism within its own ranks. The LC should put an end to its collusions with executive-managing organs and different managing structures. It must assume a critical attitude toward them and intensify its action through a stronger link with the working class and working people, politically organized on the basis of self-management.

This year the LC central and provincial committees will analyze the cause behind statist trends in socioeconomic and political relations in their republics and provinces to find out to what extent they themselves enable or even stimulate through the way in which they act, such a practice and relations.

They will also encourage municipal and city LC committees to do the same. The LCY Central Committee Presidium will also analyze the same tendencies and practice in the federation and by the end of this year will submit a report to the Central Committee on the implementation of this conclusion.

The LCY Central Committee demands that the political responsibility of those responsible for the process of coordinating solutions regarding common interests in the federation be urgently enhanced.

Continued decisionmaking on investments and other economic and social issues in narrow circles is untenable. Workers and their self-managing organs in basic organizations of associated labor should make decisions on investments and expanded reproduction; the delegates of assemblies of sociopolitical communities should do so only in line with their constitutional powers. In deciding on the use of social resources and in making decisions on material and other consequences, full publicity, collective work, and responsibility of all organs should be ensured. Scientific institutions and specialized organs that prepare proposals of development and investment programs must also bear the responsibility to self-managing and delegate bodies for the results of these programs.

It is the duty of the LC to expand with its entire social activity democratic relations in which social institutions and individuals carry out their obligations within the framework of their powers and account for this to the working people. It is the duty of all organs, organizations, and members of the LC to fight energetically, together with workers, against all forms of abuse and deformations in the system of self-managing decisionmaking. This also calls for initiatives to establish specific responsibilities of individuals and organs, for not respecting, and for violating the constitutions, laws and self-managing rights of workers and working people, but also for irresponsibility in implementing these rights.

16. The LC will wage the broadest possible action for the creative rallying of all working people and citizens and for the consolidation of unity of the broadest socialist democratic and patriotic forces associated in the SAWPY. The LC by itself cannot wage the struggle for the implementation of the ideals of socialism. All socialist social forces must participate because this struggle is in the deepest interest of the working class and of all our working people.

The LCY members, organizations, and leaders must make their full contribution to the Socialist Alliance as a whole, but particularly at the grassroots of society, becoming a true all-people's movement in which all progressive, democratic, and patriotic forces of our society are associated in order to implement the goals of socialist democracy and of the country's socialist construction. Their day-by-day work should take place primarily in numerous sections, platforms, councils, and other forms of activity. In them the Communists will in an organized, democratic manner advocate, with the strength of arguments through a contest of views, socialist morals, the unity of the working class and national interests, democratic cadre policy, creative criticism, creative work, and cultural, as well as all other genuine, values of socialism.

Every Communist must be an activist of the Socialist Alliance. The LC cannot implement its vanguard role of the working class outside the Socialist Alliance. Implementing the social role of the Socialist Alliance and its democratic contents will prevent pressures to introduce a one-party or a pluralist system.

Public and responsible political work of Communists in the Socialist Alliance represents a significant road to strengthen the influence of the working class and working people on sociopolitical trends.

It is the duty of Communists to make a full contribution and extend full support to the activity of trade unions and their organs in the attempt to have the decisions of self-managing organs and of assemblies of sociopolitical communities manifest to a much greater extent the interests of workers and working people. In the current conditions of our society the trade unions must be actively present wherever decisions are made that affect the vital interests of the working class and of all working people. This will make it possible for the authentic interests of the working class to be realized as the basic content of our social development. In this way the trade union federation will contribute to the general mobilization of the working class and working people to implement the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program.

In implementing the LCY policy and tasks the federation of the national liberation war veterans' associations of Yugoslavia will fight energetically, together with the working people, the young, and all patriotic forces of society, for the development of socialist self-managing democracy and the decisive role of the working class in society, for the stability of the sociopolitical system, for the affirmation of all the values and achievements of the socialist revolution, and for the consolidation of brotherhood and unity and implementation of equality of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. At the same time it will resolutely oppose all antiself-managing and anti-socialist concepts, types of conduct, and deformations in society.

The LCY Central Committee notes that the problems of the working people and the social position of the young generation are very serious and that they demand immediate and comprehensive social action. The present situation demands a consistent and resolute struggle by the LCY for the development of socialist consciousness in the young generation. The Communists must proceed from the fact that to resolve the vital interests of the young generation and the struggle for its adequate contribution to socialist development is an issue of the present and the future of our revolution. Without an active role and contribution by the young generation in the present state of our revolution, it cannot be successfully built and developed.

The LCY is responsible for developing prospects for our society, and also for the young generation, by finding in it the mainstay for enriching its work with fresh initiatives and contents. The LCY must fight successfully together with the young for adequate election of young people to self-managing organs, to institutions of delegate decisionmaking, to LC organs and leaders, right up to the LCY Central Committee. In pursuing its cadre policy the LC must fight against the sectarian attitude and lack of trust in the young generation.

By participating in all the trends of social life and work, the young generation will assume responsibilities and make its contribution to the struggle for the development of society of socialist self-management. It is thus necessary for the LC through its activity, to exert its influence more directly on the resolution of young people's vital problems and on the formation of their socialist self-managing consciousness and to train them in the ideopolitical sense to oppose resolutely, together with the LC and other progressive forces, the attempts to introduce antisocialist and antiself-managing ideologies and influence into the ranks of the young people.

All LC leaderships and organizations, along with full responsibility and without delay, should set in motion the activity aimed at employing the young people more speedily, at their ideopolitical education and training, which will make it possible for them to be directly committed to and assume responsibility for further socialist self-management development.

The LC must overcome the sectarian and paternalistic attitude toward the Socialist Youth Federation as an independent and responsible sociopolitical and educational organization and create conditions for its work and activity. Young LC members bear particular responsibility in the work of the Socialist Youth Federation. The Central Committee will work out an ideopolitical platform of the LCY about the problems of life, work, and position of young people in society, of their political organization and activity, and establish on this basis the specific tasks to resolve the problems of the young people and to make them participate to a greater extent in the self-managing and political life.

18. The LCY and its Central Committee, the central and provincial committees, in particular the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and the Serbia LC Central Committee, must take energetic and efficient measures for the consistent implementation of all the attitudes contained in the political platform of the LCY Central Committee on Kosovo. In this connection LC organizations and organs and all subjects of social organizing activity in Yugoslavia must be committed constantly and to a greater extent to ensuring economic, political, social, and other conditions for Serbs, Montenegrins, and others who have moved away from this province -- who may return should they wish to do so. In the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo additional efforts should also be made, including the formation of social bodies within the framework of SAWPY and organizations of associated labor, which will publicly examine and analyze specific cases of pressures, and initiate and take the measures necessary to prevent emigration under such conditions. The Central Committee charges Communists in relevant organs of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the SR of Serbia, and the SFRY to take, in line with the constitutional rights and obligations, political, economic, and other measures in order to halt emigration from Kosovo.

19. The Communists of all nations and nationalities, and of each one in particular, should be consistent and decisive in their struggle for full equality, emancipation, and progress, for concrete historical and common interests of the working class of working people, for equality and free development of republics and nationalities.

LC members must be fighters for brotherhood and unity based on the common struggle for the liberation, freedom, and equality of our nations and nationalities and their struggle for the development of socialist society. They are equally responsible for further progress and consolidation of Yugoslavia as a whole. The Communists and the LCY will not and cannot abandon this role and responsibility to self-appointed interests. In this respect there must be no opportunism or lack of resolve in the LC ranks.

The LCY Central Committee proceeds from the broadly expressed conviction of the members that statism, and on this basis growing nationalism, represents the fundamental cause of the difficulties in which we find ourselves. Both as a consequence and as a cause of economic and political disintegration in Yugoslavia, nationalism is the greatest enemy of implementing the working-class interests and of building a society with full human freedoms and equality. This fact must not be neglected for a single moment in the respective struggles waged by the LC for the development of socialist self-management and the overcoming of the economic crisis.

Nationalism is one of the basic strongholds around which enemy forces and ideological opponents of socialist self-management rally. It manifests itself strongly in the form of separatism, chauvinism, and irredentism, and in the form of unitarism and bureaucratic centralism. So the struggle against nationalism must be uncompromising in all environments. The focus of the struggle should be to settle accounts by Communists and all progressive forces with nationalism, first and foremost, in their own nation, in particular in LC organizations and organs. The LC must not lose sight of bureaucratic-statist tendencies as the social basis of nationalism.

The Central Committee binds the members, the organizations, and leaders of the LC wage a constant, energetic, and persistent struggle against antisocialist and antiself-managing forces whose activity is becoming increasingly open and aggressive.

In order to achieve their counterrevolutionary aims these forces mutually link up and attack with increasing openness the achievements and values of the revolution and of the LCY. It is thus necessary to prevent energetically and with substantiation the attacks on our revolution and its leading forces and personalities, as well as the attempts by counterrevolutionary forces to cause general confusion and lack of trust in the possibility of resolving social problems on the basis of socialist self-management. They cooperate closely with reactionary anticommunist and antisocialist circles and centers in the world, and they try to create broader strongholds for pressures and other forms of attacking the integrity, freedom, and independence of our country.

Nationalist, clericalist, pseudoliberalist, bureaucratic-dogmatic, right-wing bourgeois, and other reactionary views should be exposed publicly and in a more organized manner through arguments in every environment, while very enemy activity against the constitutional order should be resolutely thwarted through consistent application of measures established by law.

20. By proceeding from the fact that bloc confrontation, the arms race, exacerbated economic and political relations in the world, and the increasingly aggressive activity by the external and internal enemy, who also uses methods and means of special war, constitute a source of constant danger for the stability and security of our country, the Central Committee imposes on LC members, organizations, and organs the obligation to commit themselves constantly and even more to strengthening all-people's defense and social self-protection. LC members and organizations must constantly bear in mind that the struggle to resolve successfully the problems of the socioeconomic development, for the efficient functioning of the political system of social self-management, for the consolidation of the cohesion and unity of our community and of the unity in the LCY at the same time represents the struggle to strengthen the country's defense capability and the readiness of the working people and citizens to oppose at any given moment any attacks on their achievements and value of the socialist revolution.

The LC organizations and organs in all environments bear responsibility for a timely, specific, and objective assessment of the political security situation and for providing information on this situation without concealing negative phenomena.

The Central Committee stresses the need to strengthen and train further the Armed Forces, in particular the Yugoslav People's Army, to implement their role and tasks in the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection. The LCY Communists, organizations, and organs in the Yugoslav People's Army bear direct responsibility for the consistent implementation of LCY policy in developing the Army as the joint armed force of the working class and of all nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and for its socialist, revolutionary, and all-people character.

The LC Communists, organizations, and organs must fight successfully for the intensified activity and responsibility of the working people and citizens as the basic subjects of social self-protection. This activity should thwart threats to social property, crimes connected with property, as well as all other forms of alienating social property, irregularities in employment, usurpation of self-managing rights, various kinds of abuses, and violation of legality and socialist self-managing norms.

All this calls for more efficient and coordinated activity by all institutions of social self-protection, in particular by self-managing workers' control, inspection services, prosecution organs, internal affairs organs, courts, and the social accountancy service in preventing the above-mentioned phenomena.

III.

21. The Central Committee stresses that the LCY's unity constitutes the basic prerequisite for the implementation of its leading ideopolitical role. This also constitutes the basic guarantee of the unity of the working class, of equality, and of brotherhood and unity of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, of stability and successful development of our society.

The LCY's ideological and action unity should be constantly strengthened, confirmed, and developed in democratic relations and along with creative participation by the members, basic organizations, and organs of the LC in formulating the policy and through their revolutionary action and responsibility for the consistent implementation of this policy in social practice. Although LC unity depends primarily on the level of the general consciousness, activity, and contribution by all members and organizations, to achieve unity of views and attitudes LC leadership is of exceptional significance for this unity.

To confront contradictions in society and to find on time the methods of resolving them is primarily the duty of the leaderships. The LC members rightly demand that leaderships perform their functions responsibly.

It is both the obligation and responsibility of LC members, basic organizations, and organs to overcome and prevent through practical activity in all environments, phenomena and types of conduct that weaken LCY unity, such as: deviations from democratic centralism; inconsistency in action; forum-type work; prevalent reliance on state organs; collusion with techno-bureaucratic structures; practicicism; as well as stubborn insistence by individual leaderships or organizations exclusively on their own attitudes and interests, etc.

Criticisms directed at the LC, in particular at its leaderships about such phenomena, as well as criticisms directed at the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium for not having been more persistent in clarifying various views and achieving unity on the most important problems of the socioeconomic and political development are justified.

The struggle against tendencies that would lead to antagonization and artificial division among Communists, the working class, and the nations and nationalities on a statist-bureaucratic basis, and which would create conditions for turning the LCY into a coalition of republican and provincial LC's, represents the constant task of LC organizations and organs. At the same time the struggle must also be waged against tendencies which would lead to turning the LC into a bureaucratic-centralist organization.

The LCY must constantly affirm its working class and all-Yugoslav character and its ability to carry out the revolutionary and Marxist unification of working class and national interests.

22. The LCY Central Committee, the central and provincial republican and provincial LC committees and the Yugoslav People's Army LC Committee and their political and executive organs bear direct and full responsibility for the creative development, uniform interpretation, and working out and consistent implementation of the LCY policy. This responsibility of the republican and provincial LC organs must be the same both to the LC membership and the nations and nationalities of the relevant republic and province, as well as to the LCY, its Central Committee, and the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

The LCY Central Committee must manifest itself to a greater degree and more directly as the unifying and directing force of all LCY activity along the fundamental lines of the struggle for socialist self-management. It is its obligation to react on time and resolutely in cases of deviations from the program and established policy of the LCY in any part of the LCY.

With its organizational standards and unified activity the LCY Central Committee Presidium must contribute considerably more to the LCY Central Committee's implementing its role. Therefore, the Central Committee directs the LCY Central Committee Presidium to have a constant and direct insight into the situation in the LCY as a whole and to contribute to a correct interpretation and consistent implementation of the LCY Central Committee conclusions in the republican and provincial LC's and in the Yugoslav People's Army LC organization. It is its duty to organize on time a debate at the LCY Central Committee, both on initiatives which the republican and provincial LC's are initiating as well as on problems which it assesses to be essential for the adoption of stands by the LCY Central Committee. It is also its task to initiate debates at the LCY Central Committee on organs and organizations which do not implement the LCY Central Committee conclusions. In such cases, it is also the duty of the Presidium to propose to the Central Committee ideopolitical measures against Communists who bear the greatest and most direct responsibility for this.

23. Members and all LC organs and organizations are dutybound to consistently adhere to the principle of democratic centralism. This implies that phenomena and tendencies of the federalization of the LCY and of simplified and bureaucratic understanding and interpretation of LCY unity and of the independence of the republican and provincial LC's as well as of the practice of different interpretations and not implementing the LCY Central Committee conclusions should be overcome.

The principle of democratic centralism cannot be reduced merely to relations inside the republican and provincial LC's, nor merely to relations between the LCY Central Committee and the central and provincial committees. They must be applied to the same extent in all LC organs and organizations. Discipline, consistency, and responsibility cannot be demanded by the basic or municipal organization or by the republican or provincial LC only in the implementation of attitudes and decisions adopted by them while having a less binding attitude toward stands and decisions adopted by the LCY Central Committee.

It is necessary to prevent tendencies of establishing bureaucratic-hierarchical relations between organizations and organs and within them as well as unprincipled compromises and deals, this being contrary to the principles of democratic centralism and the character of relations in the LC. Such types of behavior objectively open the doors to factionalism and threaten the unity of the LCY and its revolutionary role and responsibility.

24. It is the duty of LC organizations and organs to constantly develop and strengthen democratic relations in their own ranks and to train Communists to struggle for ideas, policies, and attitudes of the LC, with the strength of their convictions and arguments, with their commitment, consistency, and personal example. The debates and creative and democratic contests of views on various issues should be concluded by adopting uniform conclusions, on the basis of the LCY policy, arguments, and orientations of the majority. The implementation of conclusions must be monitored and controlled in an organized manner.

The public nature of the LC work and the direct link between organs and the membership constitutes the most definite dam against one's own bureaucratization, aspirations of leadership, and splinter group activity. When basic attitudes and decisions by municipal, provincial, and central committees and by the LCY Central Committee are adopted, the LC organs are dutybound to organize debates in basic organizations.

The attitudes, orientations, and decisions of the LC organs should proceed from the views and proposals expressed in these debates and have at the same time a critical attitude toward views and proposals which contradict program and congress orientations of the LCY. The responsibility of political executive organs to organs which had elected them and to organizations and membership of the LC must strengthen at all levels of organization. It is the obligation of LC organs to inform the membership of the essential issues of internal development, of the international situation and of LC relations and activities.

Members of LC leaderships should be fully committed to discussing outstanding issues, to looking for and proposing solutions, and to participating directly in the debates in LC organizations and in the public. With their public statements they must contribute to the creative elaboration, affirmation, and implementation of LC attitudes and policy. In public polemics members of LC leaderships and other responsible officials must bear responsibility for any tendentious and incorrect interpretation of LC attitudes and policy, for introducing confusion into party ranks and into society, as well as for unprincipled confrontations which provide room for splinter group activities and factionalism.

The LC must resolutely settle accounts with phenomena of undemocratic and nonself-managing behavior: petit bourgeois and laissez-faire careerism, pretensions at leadership, and imposition by individuals, bureaucratic alienation and lack of sensitivity for deformations in our society, opportunism in its own ranks.

25. The complex and grave, as well as immediate and long-term tasks, that the LC and society face, call for a membership that has been trained in the ideopolitical sense, more profound theoretical work, and an intense ideological struggle. The knowledge achieved by Marxist scientific and theoretical thought as a whole and the contribution made by prominent revolutionaries and thinkers of the Yugoslav workers' movement, in particular by Tito and Kardelj, are of particular significance for the LC today. In seeking replies to specific issues of today and opening up prospects the LC should commit all socialist creative forces, the broadest circle of scientific, cultural, and professional workers and all other creative workers to this task.

The LC's ideological struggle must be coordinated and uniform, offensive, and committed to the original orientations of the LCY program, the SFRY Constitution, the Law on Associated Labor, and the Long-Term Program on Economic Stabilization. In waging its ideopolitical actions the LC, and in particular its leaderships, must proceed from a comprehensive analysis of the situation in our society and in the world, from scientific knowledge of social reality, from accurate assessments of the correlation of forces and the methods of waging its specific actions and their effects. Only thus will it be possible to effectively prevent the activity from antisocialist, antiself-managing and anticommunist positions. LC members who are scientific and public workers in scientific, cultural, and educational institutions, publishing enterprises, and public media have a significant role to play in opposing unacceptable ideopolitical tendencies and in affirming achievements, values, and orientations of our society. Communists should fight resolutely against phenomena of political abuse of cultural creative work.

Constant work to enhance ideotheoretical knowledge and consciousness of LC members, organizations, and leaderships and their training to act successfully in the political system of socialist self-management is necessary. It is necessary to create and implement programs of ideotheoretical training of LC members and leaderships. This is a condition for their creative contribution to the development of Marxist thought and opposition to ideological and political pressures, phenomena of opportunism, practicalism, inconsistency, and passive attitudes.

26. There can be no blazing of definite trails of further social development without organized work to encourage creative work and without Marxist social criticism. Criticism must be substantiated and act as an impulse of further socialist self-managing development. Through the affirmation of the humane values of our society, educational work and Marxist social criticism should more strongly oppose petit bourgeois influences, trash, and spurious values alien to socialism. In its ranks and in society the LC should contribute to the working class and ideological differentiation between criticism and pseudocriticism and anticommunist destructiveness. In their day-by-day work the LC organs and organizations should regularly discuss the image and behavior of Communists.

27. Communists in public media are dutybound to implement resolutely, consistently, and uniformly the conclusions of the fifth and sixth sessions of the LCY Central Committee. By relying on valuable experience, results, and creative forces and by implementing their constitutional role in the political system, public media should foster and encourage debate, social criticism, and actions, thus contributing to creating socialist public opinion which will influence a comprehensive mobilization of socialist forces in elaborating and implementing the strategic orientations of society's development. Communists on editorial boards must not allow public media to be used and abused to encourage tension, political manipulations and destruction, unprincipled divisions and confrontations, for the launching of ideopolitical attitudes contrary to the basic orientations of our society and penetration of petit bourgeois consciousness and messages. With an editorial policy which is along the line of the LCY struggle, the abuse of these media for the penetration of antisocialist pressures as well as tendencies of alienation, partnership, and monopoly attitudes toward society must be most energetically prevented. Responsibility for such phenomena and for the written and spoken word as a whole must be made more incisive. The entire system of public information must operate as an active and creative part of the sociopolitical system of socialist self-management; it must serve the working people and citizens and their entire socialist social action. Basic LC organizations in editorial boards, LC municipal and city committees, republican and provincial LC leaderships, and Communists in SAWP bodies and forums and in publishing councils, are responsible for the entire situation and trends and consistent implementation of the established policy in this sphere.

28. Basic LCY organizations and organs must assess, objectively, self-critically and critically, the actual working and political involvement of LC members, particularly those in management positions, in changing the situation in their own working and living environment in accordance with the LCY policy. The Central Committee stresses that the public debate was not sufficiently used to institute these changes. Each LC member's work is judged according to his working contribution to his job, his activity in the system of self-managing decisionmaking, and in sociopolitical organizations. This is of great importance for the reputation and influence of the LCY.

29. To ensure a workers' majority in the LC and greater worker representation in LC organs is a task arising from the program principles, policy, and criteria established by the LCY statute. Basic LC organizations must put in more effort to carry out this task. However, people must not be allowed to join the LC for career or similar reasons. Workers, direct producers, technical intelligentsia, and all creators connected with the production process and sharing the fate of associated labor could realize through a struggle within the LC the everyday and historical interests of the working class. They should thus express more interest in joining the LC. In that way they would ensure that the LC assumed a more consistent role as their vanguard.

Basic LC organizations and organs are obliged to assess their members' work. The LCY will not tolerate those who by their ideological principles do not belong to it. Through ideopolitical differentiation, the LC must rid itself more resolutely and rapidly of those who do not fight for the interests of the working class and LC ideology; of all inactive, hesitant and corrupt elements; of opportunists and careerists; of all those whose behavior and violation of moral and legal norms undermine the reputation of the LCY and smear the image of LCY members; of all those who became rich through abusing their social position, property, and resources; and of all those who working people and citizens no longer trust.

30. Consistent respect for and implementation of the LCY cadre policy principles, as defined by the statute and socially established, is a lasting obligation binding on all LC organs and organizations. Ability and involvement, ideopolitical orientation, results of work, and moral values must constitute the decisive criteria of cadre policy and practice. In the democratic electoral procedure a greater number of candidates should be nominated for all and even the most important elective posts, the principle of replacing and rotating cadres implemented, public assessment of the work of party officials ensured, and affirmation of new cadres from material production and science made possible -- as well as their return, when their mandates expire, to their previous working environments. It is necessary to bring young capable people to responsible positions and posts and to include them in the unique work and activity of cadres of different generations. Consistent implementation of the cadre policy calls for further deprofessionalization and regular control of the way in which entrusted positions, jobs and tasks are being carried out.

Resolute action should be taken to eliminate shortcomings in the registration, nomination, and electoral procedures; to prevent the decisive influence of informal groups when establishing initial proposals for individual cadre options; and to prevent demagogic behavior and disqualification of people. It is necessary to develop the practice of public, democratic, and broad-based registration of possible candidates for individual posts and to ensure that cadres undergo organized training in order to carry out their duties successfully.

By the 13th LCY Congress, the LCY Central Committee will have carried out a critical analysis of the experiences gained hitherto in implementing the principle of collective work and responsibility. Within this context, particular analysis of experiences and differences in the duration of mandates in different environments will also be carried out. It should be ensured that only those cadres who have a high reputation in and have earned the trust of all of our environments, the republics, and provinces be nominated and elected for federal offices, since this is in the common interest of all the republics and provinces.

31. Accepting the membership's critical remarks and proceeding from them, the LCY Central Committee will establish and formulate a program for analyzing and resolving the most important, outstanding, and topical issues concerning different spheres of our socioeconomic and political life and development.

The Central Committee, the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and involvement of their memberships and LC organs and organizations that these issues are discussed and solved efficiently. They will launch an initiative among competent organs to resolve those social issues stressed during the public debate which also include the need to improve their own method of work, initiatives, and responsibilities. The Presidium is obliged to involve LCY members more and in a more direct way when analyzing and assessing the situation in the LCY and preparing the LCY Central Committee sessions. It is necessary to increase the forms of direct cooperation between members of the LCY Central Committee and the membership, organizations, and organs of the LC.

The Presidium will ensure that implementation of the established policies, standpoints, and conclusions of the LCY Central Committee is regularly monitored, analyzed, and assessed by the entire LC.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium and the LC organs in the republics and provinces, and the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army will exchange information regularly; will discuss topical issues; and will exchange experiences in order to secure ideopolitical unity in implementing LCY policy and the LCY Central Committee conclusions on some specific issues, and to launch necessary initiatives and measures if the conclusions are not being implemented.

32. The LCY Central Committee appeals to and imposes obligations on all LC organizations and leaderships to continue and intensify the activity set in motion by the debate and on the basis of these conclusions to establish and amend programs of their work, to assess critically their own practice and work, and to carry out specific analyses of their duties.

During the debate, LC organs failed to carry out an adequate analysis of their own work but concentrated chiefly on the discussions in basic LC organizations. All LC organs are thus obliged to carry out this analysis as quickly as possible in keeping with the implementation of these conclusions and the preparations of the LC congresses.

The LCY Central Committee stresses that in the next few months LC organizations and leaderships and all the subjects of the economic and political system should focus in their immediate activity on the following:

- Increasing production, exports, and foreign exchange in general;
- Unburdening the economy and increasing its participation in the distribution of income and the consolidation of its accumulative ability;
- Curbing inflation and the decline in living standards of working people, particularly of workers and pensioners;
- More rapidly creating jobs for the young and more effectively solving other issues of vital importance for their existence, social position, and education;

The LCY Central Committee calls upon all LC members, working people, and citizens to invest maximum efforts so that these particularly pressing issues are resolved urgently and most efficiently and the goals and tasks set out in these conclusions, are fulfilled in their entirety.

Proceeding from the debate and topical social tasks, the LCY Central Committee has adopted at this session the program for its work until the 13th LCY congress. The LCY Central Committee work program constitutes an integral part of these conclusions. The LCY Central Committee Presidium, as the political-executive organ of the LCY Central Committee, will bring its work program in line with the obligations set in the debate and these conclusions.

These conclusions constitute an action program for all LC organs' and organizations' direct activity up to the 13th LCY Congress. The action on implementing the conclusions should be conducted within the framework of a comprehensive mobilization of the LCY and all socialist forces of our society and of their resolve to make a turn in their activity through decisive, efficient, and united action in resolving topical social problems and in encouraging all institutions and organizations in our society to perform their tasks responsibly.

The essence of the debate and these conclusions should serve as the basis for the 13th LCY Congress platform and for the preparations of the LC congresses and conferences. We must go to the congress with new results, strengthened unity, and clear ideas about the ways in which to resolve most efficiently the basic issues of the further development of our socialist self-managing community of equal nations and nationalities.

The debate on the draft conclusions and realization of the LCY's leading role and the consolidation of its ideological unity and unity of action have indicated and confirmed that despite difficulties, our society has the potential to continue to develop successfully. This great initiative and everything that ensued must not be allowed to go by as a campaign. No one has the right to bypass, belittle, and let down the demands put forward by 2 million of our members and of the wide socialist public. The adopted conclusions constitute an obligation for all LC organizations and organs and for communists in all organizations and institutions.

The importance of this LC social action is all the greater in view of the existing international situation, which -- despite certain positive indications concerning disarmament negotiations -- is still characterized by further exacerbation of many contradictions. The policy of bloc divisions and confrontations, the arms race, the weakening of international security, and the constant worsening of world economic trends, particularly of the monetary-financial ones, have all resulted in an increasingly complex position for many countries, particularly the developing ones. This state of affairs has also had negative repercussions for Yugoslavia's international position. We must tackle and overcome this situation through action outlined by these conclusions: that is, through relying primarily on our own resources, through better use of all social subjects, and through strengthening the internal unity of the LC and our entire society. Yugoslavia's independent and nonaligned policy, its consistent and active struggle for peace and the democratization of international political and economic relations, and its struggle for the full emancipation of all people, which has the unreserved support of the LC membership and our country's working people, are the guarantees of the SFRY's stable international position and the strengthening of its reputation as a factor of peace and cooperation in this part of the world and in international relations on the whole.

The LCY has increased the prospects for further progress in our revolution. Communists, working people, and citizens have expressed their profound interest in the prospects for socialist development in our society; for the stability, freedom, and independence of our country; and for safeguarding and developing the basic social values and continuity of our revolution. The trust in the LC and our policy offers enormous potential and support for the further development of socialist self-management. We have enough strength, conviction, and willingness to overcome the difficulties confronting us. This imposes an obligation on Communists to carry out their tasks in this complex situation by working among working people and together with them. The LC must organize itself and become involved in such a way as to ensure in deeds the implementation of the established goals and tasks.

ARMY NEWSPAPER CRITICIZES YOUTH MAGAZINE

AU091845 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2382 7 Mar 85

[Gaja Petkovic commentary: "The Old Face of MLADINA"]

[Text] If a public organ like MLADINA deals with the Army in an extremely destructive way for several years in a row, then such behavior can no longer be excused with worn-out phrases about "failures in editorial policy" or "unintentional errors that occurred during the printing of the paper." Such behavior should be called by its proper name.

The thoughts about the Army that we see in the columns of MLADINA are systematic in a peculiar way. They appear at the most sensitive stages of the social development in our country, and for their subjects they choose, as a rule, the values on which, among other things, the defense of our country rests. Some time ago this magazine tried to present human relations in our Army in a tendentious and false way; it tried to characterize them as inhuman and bullying, relations in which oppression and drilling reign. Only a few months later it appeared with "revolutionary" ideas to the effect that the Army, such as it is, is not at all necessary to this society.

In its latest issue, MLADINA again turned on the Army. This time, indeed, it did so in an indirect way, but no less ruthlessly than it has done on earlier occasion. The formal pretext for this is the victory parade that the SFRY Presidency recently decided to hold this year. The manner in which this idea is presented over a full seven pages of the magazine is very transparent. Very elementary mistakes were "slipped" into "an historical review of military parades and a presentation of some views on such manifestations" by the editorial office and the editorial collegium. These range from those presented in a typically street-corner way, without arguments, and with extremely untrue talk about the economic side of this manifestation, up to the assertion that there are only two reasons for organizing the parade at this time: "The internal and the INTERNAL [published in upper case]. The first concerns the state of our Armed Forces, and the second concerns the state of each of the two provinces and the six republics separately."

Our people have some wonderful, wise sayings. One of them is: "Scolding the daughter, you reproach the daughter-in-law." One would be completely blind politically if one failed to see that Jnaez Jansa and his colleagues of MLADINA, weaving their tale about the parade and its unsuitability, are again throwing monkey wrenches in army wheels. How can interpret their positions about "the one and the other internal reason" except as an attempt to put the Army in confrontation with the people, to discredit its proper role, and to show that one wants to intimidate one's own people with the manifestation of military might. The real feelings of the millions of our working people will be best shown on 9 May in the streets of Belgrade or in front of the television sets. If they want to, the young men of MLADINA will be able to set it very well. They will see that the majority of the funds that society allocates for the Army are spent economically and invested in real values, that the achievements we have scored in the field of national defense are an expression of our readiness to defend and preserve the freedom, independence, and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia from all attacks, and that, therefore, we have no reason whatsoever to "rattle" our arms and least of all to threaten our own people.

Therefore, the thought at the beginning of this article imperatively imposes the question: Whose are the views that some colleagues of MLADINA have been so persistently advocating for such a long time? Certainly they are not at all the views of the Slovene and the Yugoslav young generations.